NEW BRITAIN.

A

NARRATIVE OF A JOURNEY,

BY MR. ELLIS,

TO A

COUNTRY SO CALLED BY ITS INHABITANTS,

DISCOVERED IN

THE VAST PLAIN OF THE MISSOURI,

IN

North America,

AND INHABITED BY

A PEOPLE OF BRITISH ORIGIN,

WHO LIVE UNDER AN EQUITABLE SYSTEM OF SOCIETY, PRODUCTIVE OF PECULIAR INDEPENDENCE AND HAPPINESS,

ALSO, SOME ACCOUNT OF

THEIR CONSTITUTION, LAWS, INSTITUTIONS, CUSTOMS AND PHILOSOPHICAL OPINIONS:

TOGETHER WITH

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THEIR HISTORY

FROM THE TIME OF

THEIR DEPARTURE FROM GREAT BRITAIN.

"Through the distorting glass of Prejudice
"All nature seems awry; and but its own
"Wide-warp'd creations straight: but Reason's eye
"Beholds in every line of nature—truth,
"Immortal truth; and sees a God in all."

New British Poem.

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PREFACE.

When a man first prepares to appear before the Public, as an Author, a sentiment of awe possesses him, which may be productive of a little confusion of manner—and of some embarrassment in his mode of expression ; but the liberal minded will not condemn him for these traits of nature. He must be more or less than man, who has no impression of doubt or hesitation, and whose efforts do not suffer from it, when he is thus circumstanced.

Not being a literary man, the reader must not expect to find, in the following narrative, a highly finished composition ;

and want of adequate leisure must be my apology for the too many marks of haste in the preparation of it for the press. A discriminating and liberal public will, I trust, be less disposed to censure the faults, than to appreciate the merits of an author, whose only aim is, in the simplest manner, to lay before them the gleanings of his observation.

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ERRATA.

Page 4 line 23, for *groves*, read *grove*
10 line 18, for *them*, read *themselves*
10 line 26, for *was*, read *would be*
25 line 15, for *his*, read *their*
33 line 24, leave out *of*
43 line 1, for *perpetual*, read *contiguous*
51 line 26, for *wove*, read *woven*
57 line 9, for *is*, read *are*
64 line 21, for *of trees*, read *or trees*
74 line 11, for *which is*, read *must be*
84 line 22, for *our*, read *his*
94 line 27, for *The villages*, read *In the villages*
103 line 5, for *where*, read *whose*
104 line 20, for *present*, read *prevent*
106 line 6, for *centure*, read *censure*
108 line 9, for *purient*, read *prurient*
135 line 20, for *left have*, read *have left*
143 line 19, for *acquiring*, read *requiring*
173 line 21, for *is*, read *form*
197 line 8, for *system*, read *systems*
249 line 1, for *vice*, read *rise*
251 line 10, for *evaporations*, read *evaporation*
261 line 23, for *into at*, read *into it at*
285 line 17, for *pig*, read *pigs*
307 line 14, for *them*, read *then*

NEW BRITAIN.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTION.

MEN have in all ages and countries been employed in the pursuit of happiness; but in almost every instance, their own selfishness defeats their aim, even of attaining that degree of it which the God of nature hath put within the reach of every society of men, the reasonable assurance of themselves and their posterity having, individually, the comforts and conveniencies of life, unmolested by the power or the schemes of their fellow men. This selfish principle in men in all known societies, makes the poor justly dissatisfied with their social inferiority, and their scanty share of the benefits of nature; the rich, the prey of anxiety for the continuance and safety of their

wealth; and the middle classes, sharers in the distresses of both the poor and the rich.

God gave reason in the nature of man, therefore, to live to reason, is the true living to nature: to follow closely its dictates, is, obeying God, and enjoying and diffusing happiness to the full extent of our nature.

The evils which man is subject to by nature, such as floods, earthquakes, volcanoes, wild beasts, storms, and diseases, are of rare occurrence, and extremely unimportant, compared to those that his deviations from reason bring upon him; among which are war, famine, slavery, tyrannical oppression, fear, distrust, the whole progeny of anxious foreboding, and uncertainty for the future, and the manifold diseases of intemperance; with innumerable others, which man inflicts upon man for the want of using and obeying this divine principle of his nature.

These, and similar reflections, being continually present to my mind, made me always an earnest inquirer respecting the happiness of people and states, whenever it was my good fortune to meet with any person who had travelled in parts unfrequented by Europeans. In Europe, and the countries most frequented by its people, I had observed only variety of colours and shades of misery; and the appalling, yet general and perpetual scene of mutual hatred and oppression. Thus impressed,

it may easily be supposed with what attention I heard an American captain relate some particulars which he said, he had heard of a people, originally British, who inhabited a country situated in the vast plain of the Missouri, in North America. Particulars which, if true, convinced me that there were one people who lived to nature and to God, by making a right use of their reason. It may likewise be supposed with what anxiety I weighed the probable degree of credit which might be due to his information, and that I was greatly disturbed by the character generally given to American captains, whether deserved, or not, of being much given to propagate falsehoods.

Determined to hear all his information on the subject, I made an appointment with him for the following day, saying, I had some idea of going with him to America on his return. The appointment was punctually kept. I questioned him in every way I could think of; having prepared before I met him, and minuted down, numerous questions. The result was, that I was convinced there was such a people, or, that he was himself deceived. He even offered to receive nothing for my passage, and that of a friend, (who I told him, I thought would accompany me,) if he did not on our arrival in America bring us to his informant, an Englishman of the name of Hebertson, who had been to seek a settlement in Western America, and had been in this strange country; and who

only waited the arrival of his wife and child, to go and settle in it. Its inhabitants call it New Britain, in respect to, and in remembrance of its parent state; and, he added, his informant said it was the finest country in the world, not for any thing peculiar, either in climate, or produce, but for the manners, customs, and conduct of its admirable people. He further said, he should not have mentioned the particulars he had heard, but for my importunity to know all he knew, after his having slightly alluded to the existence of such a nation, as even in America, he had been the object of ridicule for merely hinting that there were such a people.

I immediately acquainted my friend, Sir G— C—, who has employed the greatest part of his time since he came to man's estate, in observing mankind. He, without the least hesitation, determined to accompany me; though he expressed himself confident we should find this people widely different from the representation we had received of them. He observed, "that all history and experience proves, that men ever have been, are, and the fair inference is, ever will be,—divided into rich and poor,—and into numerous gradations of society; or merely in a savage state." But, added he, "I had rather go and see this people, than dispute about what may be the state of mankind in future ages." Here he anticipated my reply, knowing I had always maintained that man-

kind were but half civilized, even in the countries considered the most so, and of course, capable of very great improvement.

Thus decided, we agreed with the captain for our passage; and made the necessary preparations; the ship being expected to be ready to sail in about ten days.

CHAP. II.

THE VOYAGE AND JOURNEY.

THE time of sailing having arrived, we joined our ship in the river Thames, and, were happy to find the wife of our intended travelling companion, Mr. Hebertson, who was, though without knowing it, the cause of our journey. At the first interview, we thought her to be a domestic and intelligent woman; and longer acquaintance convinced us that first judgments are sometimes right. The child was a very interesting little girl, about six years old. The other passengers, of which there were several, appeared to be all engaged in the usual pursuit, gain. Thus it is, that mankind are almost universally going a circuitous road to happiness. Give me, saith each, *what all cannot have*, give me, wealth, attendants, power, I shall then be happy! Mark the consequence,—those who attain all these, still crave for more, and fear the loss of what they have attained,—they are as far from content as ever; those who fail in this universal scramble, who are necessarily by far the most numerous part of mankind, are condemned

by the laws of society to serve the successful scramblers, some directly, others indirectly;—though God the Great Father of us all, has written indelibly, with the pen of reason in the book of nature,—MEN,—YOU ARE BROTHERS—LIVE AS BRETHREN.

We had a favourable wind when we sailed, and as there was nothing extraordinary in our passage, which took up little more than five weeks, I shall pass it over. We landed safely at New York; and were introduced to Mr. Hebertson, our intended fellow traveller, who confirmed the statement of our captain, which made us quite satisfied with our voyage. We soon agreed to travel together, with which our new companion and his wife were very much delighted. Our female companion had many anxieties about the dangers and fatigue of so long a journey; which pressed most in the fears she had for her little daughter. Yet she esteemed it a favourable omen, as she said, that Providence had provided them companions in so long and dangerous an undertaking. She considered us a great safeguard against marauding Indians, wild beasts, and other dangers which presented themselves to her imagination; yet, though she could not divest herself of fear, she was upon the whole, a willing traveller: the genuine affection she had for her husband, overcame every other consideration, and in some measure, smoothed every difficulty. She felt strongly by anticipation, the privations and accidents we

might encounter in travelling so many miles; and Sir G— C— and myself participated a little in her anxiety; but her husband seemed to have no other care but to encourage and comfort her. He had twice before travelled over the ground, and was familiarized to the danger, or rather appeared to consider there was none. This conduct in him reduced the anticipated difficulties of the journey to us all; and we cheerfully set about the necessary preparations.

We purchased a light covered waggon, and three active horses accustomed to draught; and which we thought likely to bear travelling well. We furnished our waggon with seats, a small folding table, two mattrasses, which entirely covered the bottom of it, a few blankets, and two counterpanes. We also provided some spare canvass to mend the covering if occasion should require it; and to close the front of our waggon when we should be obliged to sleep in it. We took with us also a small tent, as a covering for two men, who we agreed, on their earnest request, to take with us into the western territory, they offering to drive for us and assist us, if we would pay the expences of their journey. These poor fellows had come from Manchester; and their voyage having consumed their little all, they were driven to great distress; there being no work to be had in or about New York, from the redundancy of emigrants continually arriving; and without money they could neither go back again, nor move on.

All our luggage was contained in a few trunks, and each a portmenteau; Sir G— and myself having nothing with us but some change of clothes, and a few books, our arms, and the money necessary for our travelling expences which we had provided in dollars. Our companions too, had little else with them, save some trinkets of small value, with some other things which they valued as keepsakes, and a few useful domestic trifles of light weight.

On the seventh of April, 1818, we commenced with the rising sun, our journey in-land. It was a beautiful morning, all nature was springing into life; and what gave greater zest to the scene was, the hilarity of our male companion, he observed, it was in unison with himself. "I have," said he, "struggled diligently through a hard winter of adverse circumstances, which has reduced me to the verge of poverty; but I thank God, I have brought off honour and health in myself and family. Like the returning spring to the vigorous vegetation which surrounds us, is this journey to me and mine; we shall now expand into fresh vigour and life, and have all that reasonable beings can desire for support and convenience."

It would be tedious to those who have read accounts of the abundant fare, the inconveniencies, and the indelicacy of manners in most of the American inns, to repeat such particulars; and those who have not read them, yet wish to be informed upon the subject, had better turn to those publica-

tions which contain a more detailed account of American travelling than the nature of this narrative will admit of. I shall not detain my readers with an imperfect account of what has been fully and much better described than I should be able to do it, were I to attempt it. I shall therefore pass unnoticed the little accidents which befel us in roads moderately frequented.

We parted with our two Manchester emigrants at a place which they considered the best for their purpose of reaching that part of the state of Illinois, where they intended to settle. Sir G— C— presented them each with fifty dollars, not allowing me to partake in the pleasure of this bounty. Their eyes glistened with joy at the sight of them, and their hearts overflowed with gratitude for them, and for the accommodation we had given them. They were sensible men, but without the advantages of education. They used every argument they were able to induce us to settle with them in the state of Illinois; where they said we might purchase large tracts of land for very little money, which must certainly increase in value as the country became more populous: in their earnestness they forgot that the glass of our lives would most probably be run out before there was any material alteration. They said they would work for us, and that we might at least be assured of having two faithful servants: they would even fight for our defence should occasion require it.

Our female companion was disposed to stay, and take the opportunity of acquiring present plenty and future riches. Her husband said, that under any other circumstances he would have embraced it.—"But," said he, "I remember too well the deceitful prospects which the present state of society holds out. I began life with a moderate sum of money, with friends and relations in good circumstances, and with riches glittering before my imagination in the vista of life: some of my relations were unfortunate, others had enough to do to support themselves; those who appeared able, if really so, were not disposed to assist me, when losses drained me to poverty; and the gay vision in perspective vanished from before me. With the leave of Sir George and this gentleman I will give my opinion how these prospects will eventually fail." Sir George and myself expressed our desire to hear it, and he proceeded. "Here a man of moderate property may purchase a square—we will say of 2560 acres, and have money to buy utensils and a small quantity of stock. I have given my supposed emigrant a large share as promising more than a smaller one. He obtains all the necessaries of life, the reward of his arduous labour; but finds hired labour dear, and no dependance upon it, even at a dear rate, where every one can in a short time save enough to purchase a small share for himself. It is for his interest, as well as his comfort, to marry; he marries a young wife, which almost all must do who marry here, there being scarce any but very young women un-

married in this country. He has a large family, which is most probable, from obvious causes. We will say, as an average, eight children—four sons and four daughters, who live to maturity. For his four daughters, I will suppose he has gained and saved by his industry and economy sufficient portions, to his four sons he gives his estate; it is now reduced to 640 acres each: see another generation, and generations succeed pretty quickly when there is no restraint, their shares will be 160 acres each." I will follow this no farther. I think I have said sufficient to prove they may be soon reduced to that condition in which men become anxious about the future. I will, by your permission, sum up this eventful history, which is plain to every one who will look boldly into futurity, it is thus, "With incessant toil and care the first generation gains the necessaries of life, with some superfluity, but without its social comforts; the next comes nearer to social comfort, but loses some degrees of the confidence of independance, (I speak of the average of men and success;) the third approaches the state of old settled countries, with all their cares and troubles: after this they are so alike, that it would be difficult to give a preference. Who then, with an independent spirit, the power of reflection, and the knowledge of a better state of society, would wish to be the being, or the progenitor of beings, condemned by their laws and customs to continual care and toil?"

We were not surprised at the foresight and dis-

crimination evinced by our fellow-traveller, as he had before fully convinced us that his mind was above the ordinary stamp. His wife, smiling, took him by the hand, and said, "I have not another objection; but had you, when you sent for me, said, you were going so far into the interior, it would have added to my fears: I see clearly the kind motive of your reserve on this subject, and am very grateful for it." We expressed our conviction of the correctness of his reasoning, being convinced that the present state of society is, to the most successful, subject to be overclouded by the fear of present misfortunes or distant poverty.

Having parted with our two honest Manchester men, we provided a good stock of biscuit, bread, cheese, some wine, spirits, and tobacco; and proceeded, leaving the principal part of the Illinois state on our left; and took our route through part of the Saugees country, keeping a westernly direction, bearing a little to the north to avoid those parts of the large rivers which were impassable, towards that part of the Ouisconsing river which Mr. H— knew we could ford with our waggon. We now found a great loss of our two companions, as Mr. H— and I had to perform their office. Sir George C—— would have done his part, but we would not allow it. He, however, employed himself to good advantage with one of our double-barrelled guns, (of which we had four) killing us more game than we could eat, so that we had always two or three days' supply in advance: Sir

George's servant having left him at New York, alarmed when he heard that our journey was beyond, as he said, "all Christian countries;" and Sir George, not liking the appearance of, or the conditions required by any who offered themselves in his place, determined to travel without.—"I will be," said he, "in every sense, one of you."

After eight days' easy journeying we came to the Ouisconsing river, which we passed with considerable difficulty. After travelling four days more, we took our course considerably to the northward out of the right line of our place of destination, for the convenience of passing the Mississippi, and other great rivers; thus taking a large circuit before we could attain the direction of the country we were travelling to. On the banks of one of these we were obliged to halt, the flood, from the melting of the snow upon the great range of mountains, being still too strong for our passing it, though it had evidently abated a great deal, and was then rapidly abating.

We erected our tent, tied our horses with sufficient length of cord for their feeding, and made, for the first time in the middle of day, our fire; having before always waited till the evening, never choosing to wait so long in the day-time as to make it of much advantage. We had a fine turkey to put into the pot; but our cook lamented our not having suet and herbs for stuffing, nor sauce of any kind, and thought a piece of ham or pickled-pork would

have improved our dinner; but this arose more from the dislike of seeing any thing come imperfectly from her hands, than from being dissatisfied with our provisions. When it was ready, though our bread was exhausted, and we had only biscuits to eat with it, we all performed our parts as though it had been compounded of every delicacy: so true it is that exercise and temperance give a zest beyond all culinary art. I mention this once the pleasure with which we ate our homely fare; but will not, like some of my brother travellers, tire my readers with a full description of every meal, but shall complete the account of this one; we drank water with our dinner, and finished the repast with one bottle of wine for the whole party.

While we were thus detained, Sir George continued to amuse himself by shooting for our support; in which duty or diversion Mr. Hebertson and I alternately joined, never leaving Mrs. Hebertson alone. On the third day I accompanied Sir George into the woods. We were very successful, bringing to our tent more than two day's provision; but returned somewhat dissatisfied, having severely wounded a large deer, which we dared not follow through its intricate windings, for fear of losing ourselves. Thus it is that man laments, not only what he loses, but also what he thinks he might have gained; a source of much unhappiness; not considering, that had the object not presented itself, he would have been content, and that he is,

with his supposed loss, in exactly the same situation.

When we arrived at our tent we found our family had increased. Attracted by the smoke of our fire, an elderly Indian and his son had arrived, and were socially enjoying themselves with our fellow-travellers. Mr. H— knew enough of their language to understand them, and make himself understood; he had also some acquaintance with the old Indian, having seen him, and received friendly treatment from him, on his return from New Britain. The young Indian was an Apollo in symmetry, and we afterwards found that he was a Mercury in agility. Having mentioned the wounded deer, the Indians thought it of too much consequence to be neglected, and the young one immediately set off to trace it by its blood. In about an hour he returned, having found it nearly exhausted, and dispatched it. The old Indian and Mr. H— accompanied him with one of the horses, and soon brought in our venison.

Our old Indian was the chief of a tribe, who were then on the other side of the river; he and his son having swam across to see if game were more plentiful on our side than theirs. Our meeting with these Indians was considered a fortunate circumstance; as by Mr. Hebertson's account, after we had passed the river we should enter a country in the full occupation of numerous tribes of Indians,

through which we must travel by a friendly transmission from one tribe to another; we had now, he considered, entered auspiciously upon the only part of our journey attended with the least danger.

The river not being yet low enough to pass, though abating gradually, we invited our Indians to stay. The old Indian accepted our invitation, sleeping in company with Sir George and myself in the tent; thus leaving the whole of the waggon to Mr. H— and his family. Our young Indian left us just before dark; holding his gun and powder-flask over his head with one hand, he, without hesitation, plunged into the stream, buffeting it with the other hand, and was soon at the opposite side. In the morning as Sir George and Mr. H— were about to go out a shooting for a few hours, the young Indian appeared with his two sisters and a middle-aged Indian of their tribe. They had all swum the river, thinking nothing of the feat. One of these Indian young women was the softened duplicate of their brother, and to my inexperienced eye more beautiful, (I speak of form only), than any of the representations of Venus I ever saw; to me, the paintings and statues of the goddess represent forms not light and airy enough for perfect beauty of figure.

We were much gratified with this visit; their unlimited confidence in us, convinced us that we might safely repose confidence in the old chief and his family. They stopped two days with us, the

men making little excursions in pursuit of game and fish with Sir George; and the young women were highly gratified with observing Mrs. H—'s various kinds of domestic employment, and with the little presents she made them. By this time the river having abated so as to be passable, we determined to proceed the next morning.

In the morning we packed up our tent, yoked our horses, and proceeded, each of us taking hold of the head of a horse to keep them steady, and the three Indians having applied three of our tent cords to the side of the waggon, which would be in contact with the stream, volunteered their services to wade through and prevent the current from driving it out of a straight course. The female Indians had, by persuasion, joined Mrs. H— and her child in the waggon. In this manner, after much difficulty from the roughness of the bottom, we got safely over. We had not apprehended any danger, but our object was to have the accommodation of our waggon as far as possible; for which we had already taken many considerable circuits, to avoid the rivers and thick woods where we must have left it.

During the whole journey the passing of the rivers was our greatest difficulty; and we were many times forced upon inventions, which in other circumstances would never have entered our imaginations. Our waggon was the most troublesome, and several times we were on the point of abandon-

ing it to the stream; as for our horses, after a few times fording, they entered the rivers without difficulty.

We had deviated considerably from the track by which Mr. H— had returned from the country, in expectation of finding a better; and in travelling the vast plain of the Missouri we found it far less woody than we expected; but in one part so much so, that after two days of fruitless endeavours to proceed with our waggon, and from this cause making but little progress, we determined to give up its comforts, and accordingly left it in the wood, with feelings like those of people living in a lone house, when flood or fire has deprived them of their habitation. We afterwards regretted this determination, finding if we had persevered a little longer we might have taken our waggon a great deal further.

Our old Indian and his son continued in our neighbourhood for five days, and on the morning of the sixth, on the banks of a small river we had just passed, they transmitted us to the protection of a friendly tribe. We gave them a good part of our small stock of rum, finding it inconvenient for carriage, and but very little tobacco, this being more easy to carry; we reserved it for presents to other friendly Indians. We parted with regret from those kind sons of nature, who were hospitable without ostentation, bringing to our stock,

while they continued with us, the produce of their hunting.

We, as soon as possible, took our course southward, though much impeded by the rivers which fall into the Missouri, and their very deep banks. We remarked during this journey that the Missouri is, before their confluence, a much larger river than the Mississippi. I leave it to men critical on these subjects, whether or not the name of Missouri would not have been the most proper for the confluent stream.

That the recital of our journey through woods and rivers, and only among Indians, may not become wearisome to the reader, I shall only observe, that without any serious accident, though twice obliged to take, in pursuance of the advice of the friendly Indians, very circuitous courses to avoid tribes who would probably have murdered us all, we in this manner passed through a great part of a plain of vast extent, through which the Missouri pours its mighty volume of water, till we came, after many days' journey in it, to a woody part which extended several miles to the right and left, and which we found to be about seven miles across by the road, a buffaloe track, by which we went through it. There is a peculiarity in this wood which distinguishes it from the many others we had passed; it is the great quantity of timber which has been cut in it, denoting the vicinity of civilized

man. At the farthest boundary of this wood is a mound or column of clay, covered, or rather topped, with large stones, more than 120 feet high; (such columns are very common in this, and some other parts of this vast plain;) we ascended it by steps which are cut in the side of it. We had just attained its summit, when Sir George, Mrs. Hebertson, and myself, were most agreeably surprised with the prospect of houses and a cultivated country. To us, after so long and dreary a journey, this was a most grateful sight. Yet this pleasing scene, brought with it a mixture of painful recollections, particularly to Mrs. H—, of Old England and old friends. It is needless to acquaint the reader, that we now saw New Britain. It may be proper to observe, that we afterwards understood this name was given it by the people, from sentiments of respect to their parent state.

CHAP. III.

ENTRANCE INTO THE COUNTRY.

THE part of the country we entered, presents an appearance of population somewhat like that of the vicinity of large towns; (only the houses are more uniform in size and more regularly distributed;) which Sir George and I were the more surprised at, as from the elevated situation we had just left, we had not observed one. Mr. H— enjoyed our surprise, which increased as we advanced. The houses all appear to be replete with every convenience for enjoying the comforts of life. That they were all detached, with the buildings requisite for corn, cattle, pigs, and poultry to each, we could see; but we could not divide them into villages by the eye, they appearing, as they really are in some places, double lines facing each other, in others, single ones, as the situation of their lands and the nature of the country permitted. As we proceeded, we could see several villages, but they are so close, that at a distance we could not distinctly mark the separation.

In the village we first entered, a small stream is guided along the centre of the road, and there is a small flood-gate to every house to let in the water to a reservoir for domestic use, or for the land. The road is no more than level ground on which cows, &c. were pasturing.

We were admiring the neatness of the village, and congratulating ourselves on what we thought the good promise of the country, when we arrived opposite the first two houses. A young man from one of them came up to us, and accosted us in a manner which would have done no dishonour to an inhabitant of London. When we first observed him he made a slight inclination of the body to us, which we returned; he then gave his hand to each of us in a manner which plainly said, though we do not know each other, it is my wish that we should. He pressed us to take the refreshment his house afforded, with an earnestness which we could not refuse. I noticed he said nothing about the honour we should do him, but the pleasure it would give him. After leading our horses, which were loaded with our portmanteaus and a few of the most needful things which we had preserved, into the yard, he introduced us into the house. We saw, at once, that it was convenient, comfortable, and exquisitely clean.

His wife, making a slight but respectful courtesy on our entrance, came forward without the formality of an introduction, and took Mrs. H—

by the hand; from whose eyes the tears gushed involuntarily; which were, with the magic of sympathy, immediately accompanied by those of our kind hostess and Mrs. H—'s little daughter. The scene was all feeling: for some minutes all was silence; it was at length broken by our hostess, who said, "This reminds you too poignantly of your old friends, home, and country. It is probably beyond our power to remedy so great a loss; but be assured we will do all we can. We have expected your arrival for some time, and therefore have inquired daily if you had arrived at any of the villages below us; travellers usually coming that way. You may take it as an earnest of our good will, that we anticipated with pleasure the return of your husband. Though my husband and I are unknown to Mr. Hebertson, allow me to assure you, we shall account the pleasure of welcoming you as a happy incident in our lives." Language and conduct like this, could not fail to relieve our fellow traveller's feelings; she, kissing the mistress of the house, said "God bless you! thank you! I am satisfied," then sunk into a chair exhausted. This was only the feeling of a moment; her eyes meeting those of her husband, told how well she was satisfied. We were all most cordially welcomed in our turn.

At the end of this interesting scene, our kind entertainers slipped out. Sir George looked at me, then at Mr. H—, with a countenance at once expressing pleasure and surprise. "If," said he,

" the villagers of the extremity of this country are possessed of genuine hospitality, and true unsophisticated politeness, what are we to expect in the heart of the country, in the old and more populous stations?" Mr. H— laconically replied, " the same." " Ah," said Sir George, " my imagination had taken full possession of me, leaving no place for judgment, but could sketch nothing better: what could I expect more?"

In about ten minutes our host returned, accompanied by his opposite neighbour, who had stepped over to assist him in accommodating our horses. We received from this neighbour a greeting similar to the first. We had just ascertained that the name of our entertainers was Taite, and that of his neighbours, Marshall, when Mrs. T— and Mrs. M— entered with the preparations for dinner. Mrs. H— was again welcomed by one of her own sex, and went with them, at their request, to see their domestic economy. In a few minutes they returned with some well dressed veal cutlets, rashers of bacon, potatoes, greens, and some excellent bread; and Mr. T— brought in a large jug of excellent beer, and filled a goblet for each of us. I noticed, that they themselves all drank water with their food. This was living in the old stile of Old England. To us, who had not tasted beer or vegetables, but chiefly biscuit and fruit, for several weeks, the sight was pleasing; and we did our parts so as must have convinced our entertainers, that we had full faith in their welcome. They all par-

took with us. We finished our repast with some excellent cheese, some fine fruit, and some wine; which last, though a judge would say it was not exactly like what we call foreign wine in England, he must be very fastidious who could say it was not as good.

When dinner was over, our time was employed in inquiries concerning the health of persons whom Mr. H— knew; and in answering those respecting our journey; the state of Great Britain; the probability of the continuance of peace in Europe; and other interesting subjects.

We thought of proceeding, but were easily prevailed upon to stay, particularly Sir George and I; who were too much engaged in contemplating a people who appeared to deserve all our attention, to wish to pass lightly over any part of the interesting scene. However anxious our fellow-travellers might have been to see and possess their own residence, they readily acquiesced.

In the afternoon we had tea of three different sorts, but all from herbs of their own growing, with honey, and sugar of their own extracting. The tea was very pleasant, and convinced us of the folly of sending to China for a less wholesome herb. We afterwards understood that tea in the afternoon is but seldom indulged in, except when any one calls in, and frequently not then, it being found to interfere with their studies and amuse-

ments; as they sup, and go to rest early. They retire with the day, and rise with the sun in summer; in winter they sit up later, because of the want of day-light for early rising.

After tea we accompanied our new friends to the centre of the village, to a large oblong square of level ground, appropriated as a general pasture, and as a place of exercise for the youth of the village. Here we found parties engaged in variety of field amusements, such as are practised in England. In the centre is a spacious and handsome public building, divided for, and appropriated to various uses. It is in these buildings, that the New Britons have displayed their proficiency in architecture. We afterwards found them in every village of dimensions proportioned to it, and to its probable wants. They are, like their houses, built of different materials; brick, stone, or marble, according to the produce of the neighbourhood. The one we now visited is a beautiful square structure of stone; the roof consisting of seven compartments, being gothic arches of the same materials as the body of the building. We ascended by a spacious flight of steps to a vestibule of the same order, without any decoration but that of being fluted so as to resemble several small pillars united. We entered a spacious hall, going from which, the first apartments we were shewn are four school rooms, two on each side; the first on one side for the youngest females; the second, passing through the first, for those more advanced in age. On the other side,

corresponding, the first is for the youngest males, the second for those more advanced in life. These rooms are all large, and conveniently fitted up with every thing requisite. Beyond these, by the principal entrance, are four extensive rooms, three of which are fitted up and richly stored as libraries: the first with works on morality, the second with those of science, and the third with those for entertainment; and the fourth room for philosophical instruments, of which it has a very good supply. These eight rooms are all arched over so as to convince the observer, that strength and beauty are perfectly compatible. Over these is a very extensive room, occupying the whole space of the three central compartments of the building, with two ranges of pillars marking the divisions and supporting the roof. Here all the public business of the village is transacted; and here new opinions, doubts, and even conjectures on any subject, are discussed. The two compartments on each side are divided into various offices, and public depositories for machinery and other instruments of public utility. There are two entrances behind the building to these depositories; they having them on the upper floor, that the things not frequently seen or used, which are kept in them, may not be injured by damp.'

We next walked round the village, which is not yet completed. It is intended to be an oblong square, consisting of detached houses on each side of a road, with a canal along the middle, which

double line surrounds the plot where the public building is situated, at a distance, which with the distance of the houses from each other, leaves each dwelling that portion of land, in an oblong square, which is necessary for the support and comfort of its inmates. At the centre of the end of each portion next the road, is the situation of the house. The houses are built of stone, with a great deal of uniformity, deviating but in trivial matters. They are of two stories, of four rooms on each floor, with the entrance in the centre, and a cellar extending under two of them; which are capital places for storing their potatoes, beer, &c. the ground being solid and the situation dry. In digging their cellars they obtain the greater part of the clay for making the bricks for the building of their barns and other out buildings. The stone which their houses are built of, was procured from a small hill about a mile east of the village. Three sides of this village were completed when we were there, and nearly two-thirds of the fourth. Three of the remaining portions of land were in cultivation, and the houses commenced, those remaining were expected to be soon occupied; which they no doubt are, before the time in which I am now writing a fair copy of this narrative for the press.

On our return, Sir George remarked that he had seen no mark either of superior riches, or of poverty. "Who," he asked, "were the labourers in these erections?" Our host replied, "the inhabitants of them! To be well housed does not

destroy the ability to labour. All our labour is in the first instance, applied to that which is useful. You see in this village, the produce of only nine years; yet our labour, except, when building, or in an urgent harvest time, never exceeded four hours a day: in villages that have done with new building, all necessary labour is always performed in from three to four hours. This quantity of labour we do not wish to dispense with, as it contributes to health. As to riches, we are all rich; if, to have all the certainty that can be given to man, of the supply of every reasonable want, gives a just idea of the term. We all infinitely prefer this competence to the precarious tenure by which wealth is held in old states. There, wealth is not riches, but cares: it is all soured by uncertainty; the wealthiest cannot insure his children from want. We are free from this care, and from poverty: we are truly rich."

Sir George acknowledged the correctness of this definition of wealth, and inquired how they could, besides attending to their immediate wants, build so large a building as that in the public square; and in so masterly a manner. Our host replied, "When a village is first marked out, the neighbouring villagers all assist, till the new settlers get over their first and greatest difficulties: this they consider as only repaying to society the assistance they have before received from it. At the erection of the town building of every village, a plan is selected from many presented by those

who make architecture a study; it is generally that one which appears best to unite, strength, durability, and elegance; and that is also best adapted to the materials the neighbourhood affords. All the neighbouring villagers give assistance; and those of the more distant ones, particularly those in the interior of the country, who having no new buildings to erect, have more leisure, and send the necessary machinery, implements, iron and brass work, lead, and any thing else they think useful. The building you have seen was the work of the time that could be spared from necessary duties in two summers: in the first, it was prepared, and erected in the second: this is the third summer since it was finished. You will find them as you proceed in the country, of every order of architecture, and of variety of materials; depending for these upon the produce of the neighbourhood; the houses also vary in the materials for the same reason."

The brother of our host now came in, he was magistrate of the village for the present year. He had been eight months in office, without ever having had occasion to take his seat, except as chairman in discussions of opinions. Sir George asked, if they considered it necessary to elect magistrates for every village, where there appeared to be so little need of them? He said, "We not only elect one to be ready when wanted; but always elect, a year in advance, a successor: this is the way in every public office throughout our country." As the particulars of their government will be

noticed in a future chapter, I shall not relate the conversation which took place at this time, on that subject.

We sat down to a plentiful supper of roasted fowls and cold lamb, but we noticed that our new friends preferred bread and fruit, which were served up at the same time. They observed, that habit made many very various ways of living equally pleasant, and that they had chosen that which to their judgments appeared most congenial to health.

The time of rest arriving, the good lady of the house said, "they could not in their house accommodate us all as they would wish; for being young housekeepers, they had not had time to furnish their bed-rooms agreeably to their intentions; but their friends would make up for their deficiency; with whom they must trouble Sir George and the other single gentleman to walk home." We replied, "that our journey had made our tent, or the hut of an Indian an acceptable apartment That we were only sorry we should put them to inconvenience. That our mattrasses on the floor where we were, would be preferable to the accommodation of the best inn we had entered on the road. "We will," said Sir George, "take our rest in the way your kindness has arranged for us, and thank God for so pleasant and happy a termination of our journey."

In the morning we went round the village to see

the employment of the inhabitants. It was about six o'clock when Sir George called upon me; he remarked, he had never passed a happier night that he recollected; but yet he had not slept a minute through the whole of it:—the activity of his ideas, impelled by what he had seen, having left no room for sleep. I was not surprised at this, as I had passed much such another.

We first visited the three houses they were erecting, where we found the greater part of the villagers employed, who we understood had been working there about an hour before our arrival; and that they would work there till eight o'clock, and then go to breakfast; after which, they would be employed about an hour, or a little more, in the requisite duties of their little farms, which would complete the labour of the day. Having finished their early harvest, and the later kinds of corn, &c. not being quite ripe, they had full leisure for assisting the last settlers in their building. They calculated upon completing the three houses so as to be dry and habitable before the winter, of which, from the progress made in this morning's work, there appeared no doubt of. We retired from this scene of brotherly labour with our respective hosts to breakfast, which consisted of milk, bread, butter, herb tea, and cold meat. On comparing notes, we found all our breakfasts were substantially the same; and that all our entertainers declined animal food in the morning: they said they seldom, or ever, ate it but at dinner.

We next walked round several of their little farms, which are in size proportioned to the quality of the land: being divided into portions to each house, by its power of produce. These are re-divided, and cultivated according to the pleasure of the possessor. There is one thing very uniform among them, they have all large, well stocked, and well planted gardens. In fact, their farms, from their size and state of cultivation, may reasonably be called only large gardens.

About half-past nine, we went to the public schools, where the youth, and the children of both sexes were collecting. In the first school for the females, there were four of the matrons of the village employed in instructing them. In the second, there were six, assisted by two men, also several young women as assistants, as they are desirous to give their females the same opportunities of knowledge as the males. They consider them to be more valuable members of society in proportion to their possessing the knowledge which men account estimable. "It makes them," say they, "more conversant, and thus more valuable companions. It influences the rising generation in an important manner, by making momentous things the frequent subjects of domestic conversation: thus creating an early love of information, and with it, the knowledge of virtue." The school for the small boys, was attended by four men; and that for the elder youth, by eight, with several young assistants. The duty of teaching is per-

formed alternately by all the adults of the village. It is considered one of the most sacred of all their duties; and there are none who would not be ashamed to neglect it. The attentive education which all receive, renders every one capable of this important duty in some one of the classes. Their education is, by a positive and primary law, equal and public to every one. Both sexes attend school from five to sixteen years of age; from sixteen to eighteen they still attend daily, as assistants: this is found to fix what they have learned upon the mind, by the habit of using it, and to improve them much. The number of directors and assistants in all the schools, permits that attention to be paid to all the pupils, which I have never seen equalled in the schools in Great Britain. This attention makes fewer hours sufficient for instruction; and, in my opinion, is far more efficient than being confined double the time with less than half the attention. They are dismissed at one. After this hour every inhabitant is perfectly at his own disposal, except on Tuesdays and Fridays, when the hours from two to four, are spent in military exercise. Their afternoons are employed, either in the libraries, or in exercises and amusements, according to inclination.

Those who are not engaged in the schools during the forenoon, are variously employed. In this village, having given their mornings to assist in building, they were many of them working at their peculiar businesses; as every one is of some

useful business or profession, beside cultivating his land. This was considered an extra labour of about three hours a day, which was only occasional, and which would only last while building was very general in the neighbourhood; this they knew by the experience of the old established part of the country, where four hours a day suffice, not only for necessaries, but also for a thousand conveniencies. They inure their youth very early to this moderate quantity of labour.

We spent the afternoon in their libraries, and in observing their amusements. In one of these, cricket, I engaged with them; as I have ever admired this as a healthy field exercise, particularly where followed, as it is here, only for exercise and amusement. Sir George, and Mr. and Mrs. H—, were amused in the mean time, by music and country dances in the large room of the town-house. Dancing is very common in the evenings, and is frequently enjoyed in the open air; but never long at a time, or to late hours, and always in the presence of their parents, and the elders of the village. About eight in the evening, we partook of a light but handsome supper in the largest of the side rooms; at which, all the adults of the village were present. This was enjoyed by us as a general welcome. An old man at the head of the table, as soon as all were seated, arose, which was imitated by all, when he said, "The Power who has spread us this table in the wilderness, commands that we welcome every brother

and friend of human kind; toward you, (bowing to us,) we with pleasure obey this injunction." "We with pleasure obey it," resounded from all, as from one voice. Need I say, that we now felt a little of the genuine social happiness of human kind? After enjoying feelings which I cannot describe, we retired to rest at ten.

CHAP. IV.

PROGRESS INTO THE INTERIOR OF THE COUNTRY.

OUR fellow-traveller having only explained to us at our first meeting, in general terms, that we should see a people whose political regulations, and state of civilization were superior to those of other nations; and that poverty and dependence were unknown among them; had left many of the particulars to be developed by our own observation. On asking him why he had been so sparing, in his description, he said, he had two reasons; the first, that he was afraid of exciting incredulity in men accustomed to so different a state of things, and thereby losing our company, and the pleasure of proving what was beyond his power of representation; the second, that he was unwilling to prevent, by anticipation, the pleasure which philanthropic minds must feel in observing and unfolding for themselves, the various, yet permanent sources of happiness for man in his proper state of society: it had, he said, given him the greatest pleasure he had ever known. That mental

luxury, compared to which, all other gratifications are unimportant and nugatory.

Next morning we continued our journey into the interior of the country. Our young friend, who had so kindly entertained us, accompanied us. He had made architecture his study, in addition to employing himself in the active departments of building. He wished to see some architectural improvements about eighty miles up the country; and said he took that opportunity in the hope of being a little useful to us, and for the pleasure of our society. We left the village at the opposite end to which we entered it. We had only to travel about the third part of a mile, and that along a spacious road of pasture ground, on which the marks of wheels were but slightly observable, before we entered the second village.

This village is much like the first we entered, only it is complete; and near to the town building is a house built upon the same scale as the rest of the village; but without any land attached to it; over the door of which is inscribed "The Traveller's House." We inquired of our new guide and companion, its particular use, in a country where all were so ready to entertain strangers, and how it was supplied? He said it was intended to render those who travelled for the public good, useful information, or even pleasure, as independent as possible; and that it was always well supplied with every necessary and convenience from the

extra stores of the village, which were deposited in the town house. That every village when complete had one. That the next spring they should build one in the village where he resided; and that it was held sacred to the public weal to keep it well supplied, even though it was but rarely used, from the common desire of every inhabitant to entertain strangers. We expressed a desire to occupy one of these the next time we halted. Our companion proposed dining in one of them, as he observed we should have more society in the evening, if we took up our abode with the inhabitants; for, if we went to the traveller's house at night, they would not intrude upon us farther than to see that we had every thing we wanted; as they would conclude, by our selection, we preferred being alone. We passed through several villages, there being but very little space between them; so little, as at a distance to be scarcely discernible, only by the different range or fronting of the houses; proceeding about twelve miles to where we stopped at the traveller's house. We put our horses into the stable, where we found every thing requisite, and had but just sat down in one of the parlours, which we were instructed to use as our own, when a little girl entered with a note to this purport; "We request to know whether the strangers will prefer being alone, or will accept the willing assistance of some of the villagers in preparing their dinner?" We said we should be happy in their assistance and company. Two young women of about eighteen now entered, in a manner particularly respectful,

but not in the least tinctured with servility; one of them paid every possible attention to Mrs. H—, while the other inquired if we were inclined to dine immediately or would prefer waiting awhile. "We can," said she, "prepare you some eggs and bacon in ten minutes, or a joint in about an hour." We said we were not in haste, but would take that which would give the least trouble. "The reply was, "we cannot consider pleasure a trouble." So we agreed to walk round the village, while Mrs. H— and our new entertainers prepared our dinner.

This village is built of soft white stone, very easy to work, and which hardens in the air. The architecture, size, and conveniences of the houses are essentially the same as in the village we first entered; but they vary a little in the decorations. Their town house is about the same, as to convenience and arrangement, as the one already described; but its architecture is different. It is a square stone building, with stone ground floors, and the upper one of wood; the roof also, which is divided into three unequal compartments, the largest in the middle, and rising higher than the other two, is supported with very strong timbers, and covered with grey slate of considerable thickness and strength. The several apartments of this building are well lighted, like the one we first noticed. This, though built to be as lasting as possible, is not equal in that respect to the first, on account of the more perishable nature of the materials of the roof.

We returned to our temporary home after about an hour's absence, where we found ready a piece of excellent roast beef, and what we in England call a Yorkshire pudding, and several sorts of vegetables; we had good beer, and toast and water with it, after which we had cheese; and for the desert, we had great variety of early fruit, mead, and two sorts of wine, both the produce of the village, and all very good. To all these good things must be added, dignified and respectful attention. I have been thus particular in detailing this repast, as we afterwards found we could have travelled all through the country treated thus handsomely, without danger or expence, and with cheerful attention to our wants at every place. This was the only time of our occupying the stranger's house, during all the time we travelled together; for if we had been many times as numerous a party as we were, this hospitable people would gladly have accommodated us. Wherever we went it was like visiting an old friend; there was evident gratification in the exercise of their hospitality; and always attended with conduct peculiarly grateful to me, a total absence of idle professions: we fared as they did, without being wearied with apologies; and were greeted with actions and cheerfulness of manner every where, which said, you are as welcome as ourselves, you confer pleasure!

After enjoying the society of some of the villagers till four o'clock, we proceeded, intending to go about ten miles farther that day. When we

had travelled about three miles through perpetual villages, we attained an elevated part of the country, where we had an extensive view all round, of by far the most populous country I ever saw. Sir George, like me, had been surprised at not seeing or coming to any large towns; but now that we could see a considerable distance all around us, without observing one, Sir George said to Mr. T— "Pray how far are we to travel before we come to one of your large towns?" Mr. T— replying as follows astonished us both. "We have not a single large town, of the description you inquire for, in the whole nation. It is composed entirely of villages in the manner you have seen; a number of these form a division; an uncertain number of these divisions, forming as nearly as possible a large square, compose a county; a number of counties classed so as to be most compact, form a district; and these districts, which are now increased to seven, compose our country. We consider it wise to live upon the spot where our necessaries of life are produced; and not to congregate in great cities, and thus have to fetch them from a distance. We by this, prevent a few from rising into improper consequence, and the many from sinking into servility; the inevitable result of their different employments in such large collections of men; which appear to us to be large masses of human corruption. We also thus prevent that degradation of moral character, which would be alike despicable in those who would be so unjust as to grasp at more than what is needful of property or power, and in those

who would be mean enough to submit to servility, or to the privation of any part of their just and equal rights. We read attentively the histories of other nations; and we consider that we have discovered the true source of all their misfortunes, collectively and individually, to be, the love of unreasonable wealth and power. Be not then surprised that we most determinedly avoid in ourselves, and prevent in others, these, as the greatest evils, which the people of other countries eagerly pursue as their greatest good."

There was a simplicity of eloquence in his recital of this account, which evidently shewed it to be the general sentiment, not Mr. T—'s particular view of a proper state of society. Sir George observed, "There is in this plan of society, so widely different from every other which I have known or read of, a principle productive of general happiness beyond any of them. It must certainly," said he, "prevent that poverty, vice, and misery, so prevalent in other countries; but it cannot lead individuals to those possessions which give the relative superiority attainable in them."

Our companion replied, "We are educated to despise every thing which can, in the remotest manner, injure another. Where a man succeeds in this way, were he to think justly, he could not be happy in the possession of that which degraded, or injured his brethren: nor is he happy, he has only heaped up cares and anxieties to himself, and in-

justice upon his neighbour. We have none of those corroding cases, which wear down, alike, the pursuers and the possessors of wealth and power."

Sir George said, "do all your countrymen hold opinions like these? Do they all despise wealth and power?"

Mr. T. replied, "We all with one accord, from the knowledge that it is for the good of all, despise what you call wealth. You have seen the source from whence I draw the comforts and conveniencies of life; in this respect the greatest man in the country and I are equals. As to power, we think it honourable to be able to advise or guide others in difficulties or dangers which may possibly occur; but to endeavour to attain it by sinister means, or by biassing the free suffrages of our neighbours, or when attained, to hold, or strain it beyond the law, or justice, would be attended with inexpiable disgrace; a disgrace which no wise man would put himself in danger of incurring for any consideration."

Sir George, after a pause of astonishment, said, "indeed you are an extraordinary people! In our country, which ranks with the first in Europe for talents and justice, our greatest men pursue with avidity, both power and wealth."

Our companion replied, "Such men may be, and no doubt are, men of great knowledge and ta-

lents; but they permit the love of wealth and power to impede their view, they thus become short-sighted, and are not wise; real wisdom would prefer justice, which is true honour, freedom from care, and the general welfare, to this unreal good."

Our intelligent friend now left us awhile to speak to a person in the village through which we were passing. Mr. H, looked round upon us all and said, "now have I deceived you?" "Deceived us," said I, repeating his words, and turning to Sir George, and addressing myself to him, "you are now I hope convinced that Europeans have not attained the summit of possible civilization." He replied, "I am astonished at what I see and hear; yet my judgment tells me, that it is but the result, to be reasonably expected from their customs and manners. We have found a people where every one is an agriculturist, and also an useful mechanic or professional man; yet as careless of accumulation as the savages. We see them, on the borders of unappropriated forests and savannahs, inclosing only the small necessary portion of land, where others would have appropriated large domains. I am now almost convinced there may have been a golden age; I am fully persuaded there may be one; it rests with man; let reason reign, and the work is done: there is no need to go through the intermediate ones of brass and silver. But these people despise gold in the light in which Europeans value it; yet, to Europeans, to whom it

gives so many ideas of comparison, it is a good mean for description of the content and happiness of this people; while iron, of which fetters are made, accords well with the cares and miseries of the states we have left behind us."

I was highly pleased to find Sir George so sincere an admirer of the New Britons. I had long been scarcely able to contain myself for admiration; but determined, if possible, to have the first general opinion from Sir George.

Mrs. H— looking earnestly at her husband, with emotions of pleasure almost too much for articulation, said, "I now see, clearly, the happy state you have achieved for us. We are to have a house and land, like one of these; and to be free from the cares of riches, and the fear of poverty." The tears of joy which trickled down her face, gave decisive evidence that she spoke from the heart.

Our new friend, on returning to us, asked if we should like to remain where we were, or prefer proceeding a mile or two further, or if we should have any objection to go about two thirds of a mile out of our way, to the right, to the village where his parents lived, but, said he, "I will not press you to your inconvenience, as I can call on my return." We all desired to go there; being pleased with any plan that could add to his pleasure.

After having travelled above twenty miles through a country where the ends of the villages were not distinguishable, where the houses are placed in the same line, but only where they have their backs to, or cross each other, we arrived at the dwelling of the father of our friendly conductor. We were received as old friends would be in England. The father and the son met as though their meetings were frequent; which, on inquiry, we found to be the fact; as the great leisure of these people gives them opportunity for frequent excursions.

The old gentleman was elected president for the county for the ensuing year, (their year commences from the shortest day,) and the business of the office is to preside in all matters referred to the county court, from the division courts; and also to represent the county. We were surprised to hear that, at his advanced age, being above sixty, and elected to an office of such high consideration, he cultivated his own portion, and performed the usual labours of his business, that of a builder, for nearly four hours every day; and we expressed our surprise. He observed, "this quantity of labour is conducive to health; and habit makes it rather a recreation than a toil. In health it is scarcely ever declined, except for the performance of public duties, and for the reception of and attention to friends. When any one becomes from age, accident, or illness, unable to do the portion of labour which the custom of the

country requires, or where a widow is left, and where there are no children able to perform it, the younger inhabitants of the village, and sometimes those of the neighbouring ones, do all that is required in the disabled or widowed person's portion; and his or her receipts of the other comforts of life, are not in the least curtailed. It requires laziness, or intemperance, or some other odious vice, to restrain the hand of brotherly kindness, which forms so great a part of the business and pleasure of life. But, most frequently, some of the children or near relations take the management of the portion, and watch the declining years of our aged countrymen and women: this is encouraged by their thus having an opportunity to settle in life a little earlier."

Sir George inquired why they did not appropriate, to each, larger portions of land, than those attached to their houses, having so extensive a country before them?

Our host replied, "from serious and attentive investigation of what contributes to happiness, we have determined not to possess more land than the quantity requisite for comfortable subsistence; and with our sense of what is productive of happiness, no individual will be troubled with more than the small portions which you see attached to our dwellings. Neither with our ideas of good policy, will we allow of any innovation upon this principle of moderation and equity; as such inno-

vation would most certainly induce a state of society, which would render uncertain the means of support to some of its members. We do not consider it just for a man to acquire all he can: such conduct would tend to deprive his neighbours of their rights, and to enslave his equals. Prevailing luxury and general happiness are the oppossing scales of human life."

We asked our host how it was, that in a country where we had not seen a single shop for the sale of any thing, we saw him surrounded with every convenience of life, and numerons elegancies?

He said, "it is thus, we assign about four hours every week-day to labour; less than half of this, upon an average, suffices for our agriculture and gardening; the remainder of this time, every one, without exception, applies to some trade or useful employment, which is the source of what you see; and also of one of the greatest pleasures of life, that of reciprocal presents, and marks of attachment. Every village contains almost every useful business among its inhabitants; and villages, divisions, counties, and even districts, as well as individuals, are continually giving and receiving the various surplus of their industry, arising from both their labour and possessions. Having no money, we cannot hoard large possessions in a small compass; and every one finds, that to be beloved and esteemed, or to have many conveniencies, he must

perform his part in this commerce of kindness: idleness justly tends to privation."

"To give you an idea of the manner in which these things are done, I will detail an instance; my neighbour on the left, is a tanner, and his son, who continues with him, adds to tanning, the business of a currier; all the hides and skins which the village produces are taken to his tan-yard by himself or others, also, all the bark which we can strip from our trees, is preserved and taken there; all these he receives without any conditions, except those of public utility. He tans or dresses this stock. His son, and another person, who is a harness maker, as well as a currier, prepare it for the use of the shoe-makers and others. Shoes being a necessary of great consumption, we have four shoe-makers in this village, besides the assistance of their youth, or others who are learning the business. All this way, you perceive, there is neither barter, nor money passing between the parties; the shoes are as much a common stock as the skins, hides, and bark: and are distributed to those who want them. In return, the tanner, the currier, and the shoe-makers receive unconditionally the aid of the smith, the carpenter, and the mason; have their wool wove, their hats made, their domestic utensils of every description provided, their watches made or repaired by the watch-makers, muskets, &c. by the gun-maker, books, by the printers, and, in this manner, every other thing needful or desirable, in the same proportion as they produce theirs.

It has become proverbial here, that a man has fewest of the things produced by his own business; and scarcely any one reserves the best for himself."

Sir George inquired if they made no distinction in employments. "Are there," said he, "none that are considered more respectable than others?"

Our entertainer answered,—"whatever it is necessary for men to do for the general good is accounted equally honourable, or is rather not accounted of at all, as we have no distinction. There is no disgrace in any man doing what some one must do. Could a man be found so regardless of his own improvement, through the many hours' leisure which every day gives him, as to be incapable of any thing but one particular employment, as building or shoemaking, he certainly would not be held in that high estimation in society, as one who explained the laws of nature like your Newton, and also made shoes, or hewed stone. The man who is the county president for the present year made, and even mended, the shoes I have now on; yet there is no duke in Old England, (where, I know, shoemakers are comparatively little men in public estimation,) can command more attention and respect in his own country, than our worthy county president does in his. The maxim of your poet Pope—

"Honour or shame from no condition rise;
"Act well your part—there all the honour lies,"

is incorrect in the state of society wherein he wrote. According to your social intercourse, and ideas of honour, it is at least as necessary to have a good part, as to perform it well. There is very little honour attached to the correct performance of duty in a labouring scavenger. To be free from contempt, an employment must be free from a general opinion of being low or mean; an opinion very prevalent in your country respecting many employments, as we understand by your books. In our country this maxim is at once true and unnecessary, as we think no employment dishonourable to a man which must necessarily be done by man."

We spent the evening in making and answering inquiries. In the morning, when we were about to proceed, we recollected it was Sunday, and therefore staid where we were. We passed the day as they did, in reading, having the bible and other books provided for us; but no remarks were made, or questions asked us. There was, in the conduct of all whom we saw, a silent reverential awe of the Great Author of all, in which each seemed to say to his fellow man—" approach unmolested in thy own way." As observations on, or rather an account of the religion of the New Britons, will occupy a future chapter. I shall not at present take up the time of the reader with cursory remarks upon it.

The time we spent in this village gave us an opportunity to examine it all round. We observed the

fruit-trees in the orchards to be in the fullest state of maturity, and that where any one had failed, it was carefully replaced by a young plant. We noticed too, their practice of having all their hedge-rows planted with fruit-trees; this they say, is the custom all over the country, so that they have always abundance of fruit. This plan had, we understood, in some places almost superceded the necessity of orchards, and had left them more open to cultivation for other things. We here found, (the village being what they consider completed,) that every house has attached to it, convenient buildings for one or more businesses. Each portion has also its little wood for the growth of timber and fire-wood; a circumstance we had not so particularly noticed before, but which we afterwards found to be the general plan when they marked out their villages.

Early on Monday morning we continued our journey, and made steady progress all that day, and also on Tuesday, till about one in the afternoon, when we stopped, and fared well upon part of what was provided for the family of the person who induced us to stop. We accepted this invitation that we might see their military exercises. There was going to be a meeting of division, and our entertainer was already in his uniform. Their uniform is a dark green jacket and pantaloons, with halfboots closely laced. It is the same throughout the country, only that the cavalry are full-booted. A slight difference in their helmets

marks the different districts, counties, divisions, &c. They came to the central field of this village, from the seven other villages, which, with the one we were in, form this division, in exact order; and though there were seven columns from the adjoining villages, there were not more than six minutes elapsed, from the arrival of the first to that of the last. They formed in line, in columns, and deployed in various evolutions, with a precision that surprised Sir George, who had examined with care the military of every country he had visited. He expressed his surprise, and inquired how they had become acquainted with the late improvements of the military art in Europe, and that without wars, or even the prospect of them, they could attend to all the duties of a soldier?

Our entertainer replied to the first part of the question, that parties of from one to two hundred frequently visited the United States. Their plan is to go in a body well armed through the Indian territory, and when they reach the neighbourhood of the American States, to divide into small parties, and to traverse for about three months the whole country, having first appointed a time for reunion at the place where they divided. They have thus full opportunity to obtain all the new information on every subject; to purchase all the new books on the military, and every other science, whether English or American; and also any production worth the carriage, in general literature. For these purposes they are provided with plenty

of silver from that which our lead mines yield, which they dispose of for dollars to be more convenient. They also examine every new discovery in mechanism, observe the state of military discipline, and every other improvement, with a view to improvement at home. They also purchase series of English and American newspapers; which are here publicly read and commented upon, and which form the most powerful and persuasive negative lessons for contentment with our own state that could possibly be devised. "No man," say those travellers, "would wish to exchange his state of life, when he sees the ignorance of the greater part, or the care and anxiety which pervade the whole of the Americans; their happiest circumstances of life, when viewed in all their bearings, are far beneath the level of ours." To the second part of the question he answered, "we in some measure may be considered to play at soldiers, it is an amusement, and we perform it in the best way we are able; yet we consider it an important duty, for when we read of the mad freaks of ambition which disgrace mankind, both as performers and spectators of the sanguinary scenes, they convince us that we know not how soon we may be attacked; and we, therefore, do not think it prudent to have to learn the art of self-defence when we should be defending ourselves. We shall never be the aggressors, but we fear no power that can be brought against us."

We were already in a great degree convinced of

the just foundation for the last remark, for we had seen the precision of their fire at a mark, and their masterly evolutions; both of which proved how deadly a battle they were able to wage.

The next day we parted with our friend T—, and on the Thursday, we ushered our much-esteemed travelling companions and friends Mr. and Mrs. H— and their daughter, into their own habitation. There is here three divisions, consisting of from ten to fourteen villages each, the inhabitants of which are pretty generally employed in working in iron, which they get and prepare in the neighbourhood; they thus fill up the four hours a day assigned to labour, that are not employed upon their portions of land. The produce is dispersed all over the country, and in return they have a part of all the comforts produced in all the other parts. Mr. H— had, on his first visit to New Britain, improved their method of tempering some of the cutlery productions, and when they knew he had come to the determination of settling in the country, it was put to the vote, in an assembly of the three divisions called for the purpose, whether or not he should have the offer of the first house and portion of land which fell vacant, and which did not prevent any person from succeeding to their paternal roof. The proposition was unanimously carried in his favour, and he preferred this one, which became vacant a few weeks before he left the country to fetch his family, to going to any of the new villages building on the borders.

Their house, like the rest in the village, is a stone building of two stories, with four rooms on a floor, and good cellars. It has all the requisite outhouses attached, and a workshop adapted for the cutlery business. He found his land in the same state of cultivation as the rest of the village; and his house, barn, granary, cowhouse, and pasture, stored with every necessary.

It is the custom in New Britain to keep one year's store of grain in advance, and their calculation is, that there is always that at least, in the public and private stores throughout the country. From this stock, every district, county, division, village, or family, can claim supply in cases of loss or deficiency, caused by floods, drought, or other means, not including idleness. This practice frees them from serious alarm at the prospect of a bad season.

We passed the night at their house. Next day we walked round their ground, saw their cow, their sheep, their pigs, their poultry, and their bees, and, what was more gratifying to us, the placid joy which played upon the countenances of our fellow-travellers. We had thought of proceeding in the morning towards what is called, for distinction, the old country, though it now forms but a small part of New Britain. We were anxious to examine the effect of their institutions in what may be considered an old or full country. Mrs. H—, when

she understood our design, would not allow of it. "You must," said she, "stay one day more with us, we have too much happiness to be enjoyed without partition, or we cannot enjoy it so well without its being known, you must not leave us to-day." We were obliged to comply, and in this way we continued complying till Monday morning, when we took our leave of them. We parted from Mr. H— as from an old and tried friend; we had found him both an intelligent and a virtuous man; and we promised him and Mrs. H— not to leave the country without again staying some time with them.

On Tuesday morning, after having travelled through a country equally populous, and among people equally friendly and obliging as the first we met, we arrived at a pass along the side of a river, through a ridge of clay topped with stones, which appeared to us to be more than a hundred feet high. This pass is about one hundred and sixty yards through, and the road through it has been made, or at least improved, by art. When we had attained the other side, we were in what is called the old country.

The knowledge of our arrival had travelled much faster than we had, and at our entrance, we were greeted with a polite invitation to take up our residence at the house of the chief president of the country; a mark of respect to us as strangers and Englishmen, as we afterwards understood.

CHAP. V.

THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW BRITONS.

THE president received us with the same freedom of manner as the rest of his countrymen had done, nor could we have judged by his appearance, that he was the chief of the country for the year. He resides in a house near to the house of government. There is a portion of land attached to it, in which we found him at work on our arrival. He immediately entered the house with us, and sent his son, a youth of about seventeen, to invite three of the district presidents to come and pass the day with us. These presidents were in the neighbourhood on account of the time approaching, in which the presidents of districts and counties attend at the seat of government, to state the situation of their respective districts and counties; and in case there should be any thing which required more than usual attention, to call in the presidents of divisions to assist in their deliberations, which can be done by the chief president, or by any two of the district presidents, or by any

seven of the county presidents. We found the chief president to be a man of extraordinary mind.

Sir George asked him if it was usual with all their presidents to cultivate their own land, or that attached to the house of the presidency? He replied, "all our people consider health as one of the first blessings of life, and that nothing contributes so much to its preservation as moderate field labour, which to each man is not more than two hours a day. The seven district presidents, and the chief president, are exempt during the year of their presidency, from their other employments, on account of their leaving their homes for the year. On this account also, those who have not a son able to cultivate their land at home, have it cultivated by their neighbours."

We expressed a desire to understand their form of government, which appeared to be carried on so completely without state, and almost without trouble.

The president said, he would give us a sketch of it, after we had dined. "But," said he, "you will find it merely the frame-work of a government, ready to be put together at an hour's notice, in case of necessity, not one of those ponderous machines, which disgrace most of the countries of the world, and wear down their people in supplying the moving power."

The three district presidents now coming in, it was proposed to us to go and see the house of government, and a little of the neighbourhood, till the usual time of dinner. We readily acquiesced. The village (for it is only a village where the seat of government is,) is built and arranged in the same way as those already described. The stranger's house is much larger than that of the other villages; as it is expected that more strangers will come here, than to most other places; and it is thought merely hospitable to provide them with an independent residence during their stay, in case they should prefer it to residing with any of the villagers. There is in the traveller's house of this village separate accommodation for seven families.

The next peculiarity we noticed was, a large range of store-houses of immense capacity, which are filled with all kinds of public stores, including arms, provisions, corn, and all sorts of useful articles. These are mostly kept filled from the surplus of districts and counties, and is drawn upon by the neighbourhood, only when required by the extra consumption caused by large, or general meetings, of the presidents of counties and divisions. We understood, it had been once proposed to build suitable houses of accommodation for the representatives, on those occasions, but it was over-ruled on a general petition of all the inhabitants of the villages in the neighbourhood, praying not to be deprived of the opportunity of exercising their hospitality; and stating, that it must be more

comfortable for the representatives to accept of their attentions at their own houses, than to have to accommodate themselves, even with all the assistance they could give them by the plan proposed.

The house of government is a beautiful building of white marble. The external appearance is plain, but noble, something like the body of St. Paul's, London, but wider, and not so high. It is an oblong square, with three principal entrances, which lead to the three houses of assembly. One is for the chief president and the presidents of the districts, another for the representatives of counties, and the other, the central one, and which is much the largest, for the representatives of divisions: the presidents of counties or divisions are also their representatives. It contains also several subordinate offices, and repositories for records, and other valuable writings belonging to the state. Copies of all writings of importance are also kept in the government houses of each of the districts.

This village has also its town-house, in which are the schools, the libraries, the hall for the village business, &c. like all the others. I have been the more particular in describing this village, as its variations from other villages are only its public buildings, and these are upon the same plan, on a larger scale, as the public buildings of districts, counties, and divisions; each of which has them, for the particular business, or stores of each dis-

trict, county, or division; but with only one house of assembly for the district or county, as all meet together for the consideration of local business, and the divisions have only the town-house of the village for their house of assembly.

A little after one we returned to dinner. We were a good party, being twelve in all, consisting of the president, his lady, his daughter and son, the three district presidents, and a very beautiful young woman, about twenty-four, the daughter of one of them, (the president of the district where we then were,) two of the villagers, Sir George and myself.

It may be amusing to an English reader to receive a short account of this dinner, and of the attendance. We had first, a boiled leg of mutton and turnips, after which we had half a ham, the knuckle end, and four fine roasted fowls, and vegetables; and we had two fruit pies, sweetened with sugar of their own manufacture, from the roots of trees of the country; after the cloth was removed, we had the fruits of the season, and two sorts of wine, all the produce of the neighbourhood. A daughter of one of the villagers who dined with us, and three other young women, all about the same age, sixteen, were the attendants till they had put the wine upon the table, after which we saw no more of them, till we were ushered into the next room to take tea. The president's lady, and the two young ones, left us after taking

two glasses of wine each. In this nobly simple manner, did we dine with some of the chief men of a populous and important country.

Sir George, soon after the ladies had retired, reminded the president of his promise. He complied, and I wrote down the conversation the same night, while fresh in my memory, for fear of mistake, as follows. It must be understood I give the matter rather than the words, but as much as possible the latter also.

"Our government," said he, "emanates from the whole people. They are the solid rock, upon which all power is founded; and in which its chief, and inferior fountains, have their source. We do not say, like the political writers of many countries, that when the fountain is polluted, the streams which flow from it, must also be impure; but, that while this primary rock retains its strong adhesive powers of reason and justice, the fountains and the streams must be pure; or, if rendered turbid by incidental obstructions, they would soon run themselves clear in the channels of a sound country; and that nothing less than the loss of firmness in the rock itself, can destroy or materially affect this purity. If this rock continues firm, all other evils are partial; a failure in this only, would be irremediable; it would be of no use to alter the course of the stream, if the whole country were to become unsound. To prevent this greatest of all political evils, we educate with the greatest care

every inhabitant of the country; we ingraft upon all, without the least distinction, all the knowledge we can communicate, or they receive; concluding, from the fullest persuasion, that a thorough understanding of what is just and right, is the true and best method of maintaining just and free institutions. We consider ignorance, as the prolific parent of evil in human life; and that from it, arises all the ills which men are continually heaping upon each other: among the chief of which is, the unjust and inordinate desire of property and power. We firmly believe that all our happiness depends upon preventing the entrance into our country, of both the parent and the offspring. As a free people we formed a constitution for ourselves; and thereby gave ourselves a government: when a governor gives a constitution to a people, it is making an ostentatious display of generosity in giving back only a part of their own. I have, as well as I am able, described to you, what we judge to be the true source of all just power; and I will now endeavour to explain how we guide it to a point, or rather direct it in one stream, in cases of necessity. This leads me to give you a brief account of our constitution.

"A decree of the people, as a principle and part of the constitution, commands our executive government to consist of a chief president of the country, a president of each district, a president of each county, a president of each division, and a magistrate for each village; who are every one

elected annually, by a simple majority of votes, and their election takes place a year in advance; none of whom can be elected to fill the same situation till after an interval of two years. As to subordinate officers, all who are capable of the duty required, may be called upon for their assistance in time of need. The members of the executive have no power, separately or collectively, to increase or diminish their own authority, or that of any part of them. They are perfectly subordinate to the principles of the constitution, by which their offices were created, and to the primary laws. The presidents assemble twice every year at the government house for public business: the chief president and the district presidents in one house of assembly, the county presidents in the second, and the division presidents in the third. I believe that it has before been mentioned to you, that the presidents of counties and divisions are also the representatives of their respective counties and divisions. These members of the executive have, when collected in assemblies, the power of legislation, as it respects laws explanatory or declaratory of the primary laws; and in all other matters which do not interfere with, or infringe upon, the principles of the constitution, or the primary laws. There is a district house of assembly in every one of the seven districts, in which the president of the district, and the presidents of the counties of the district, meet quarterly in assembly upon district business; there is a house of assembly in every county, in which the president of the county, and

the presidents of the divisions of the county, assemble quarterly on county business; and the hall of the village, in which the division president resides, or any other of the village halls in the division, which may be thought more convenient, is the house of assembly for the meeting quarterly, or oftener, of the division president and the village magistrates, for the business of the division. Every village magistrate, president of a division, president of a county, or president of a district, must be respectively inhabitants of the village, division, county, or district, for which they are elected."

" Every house has a vote, the right of voting belongs to the father, or to the head of the family; where there is no father, and the mother survives, the right devolves upon her; and where both the parents are dead, and the house is still occupied by the family, the eldest son has the right, if he be above the age of twenty-one years: it is only on the failure of all these, that any family is without a vote. The votes of every village, whether for their own magistrate, the president of the division, of the county, the district, or the chief president, are given in the village hall. In elections for divisions, the magistrate of each village, in their respective divisions, takes up the votes of the village to the division-house, and adds them to the poll, with the name of the village, and the number for each candidate. In elections for counties, the presidents of divisions receive the votes from the several village magistrates, and take them up to

the county-house, and add them to the poll. In elections for districts, the presidents of counties receive the votes from the presidents of divisions, who have received them from the village magistrates, and add them to the poll at the district-house. And, in like manner, at the election of the chief president, the magistrates of villages, give in the votes of their respective villages, to the presidents of the divisions, who give those of their divisions, to the presidents of the counties; who give those of the counties to the presidents of the districts; who also take those of the districts to the government-house. The result of the election is declared in all these elections by the presidents who last receive the votes. The presidents of divisions and counties, are also the representatives of divisions and counties, in their respective assemblies."

"We thus prevent the bustle and inconvenience of numerous meetings, and the trouble of voters going from home. To prevent the possibility of fraud, the result of every election above that of a village magistrate, is published. I will now detail to you the method of publishing the result of the election of the chief magistrate for the country, which includes that which is required for all the rest. The youth in the schools of this village are immediately employed to copy, in a fair hand, two copies for the government-house, and two for each district, containing the sum total of the poll for each candidate; and also each district total for each

candidate. In the schools of the several districts, the writing youth are employed to give the great total, the district totals, and each county total, for each candidate; two copies of which are for the government-house, two for each of the district-houses, and two for each county. In the villages where the county-houses are situated, the youth of the schools are employed to give the great total, the district totals, the county totals, and the totals of each division in their respective counties, for each candidate, two copies for each county-house, and two for each division. The divisions have, in like manner, two copies made for each village, in their respective divisions, with all the totals before enumerated, and including all the village totals of their respective divisions. And each village adds to these copies, the particulars of the votes which make their village total. Thus every degree audits its superior—the villages, the divisions; the divisions, the counties; the counties, the districts; and the districts, the chief president. And, as here all public business is transacted openly, there is neither fraud, nor even the suspicion of it."

Sir George asked if elections of this sort did not take up much time? To which the president replied, "the afternoon of one day generally suffices in each village, for all the several elections. The names of the candidates for chief president, district president, county president, division president, and for village magistrate, are put, a month before the

election, upon separate boards appropriated to the candidates of each degree. There are five books, one for each election, ruled, forming a column for the name of the voters; after which, there is a column for each candidate, headed with his name. The voter writes his name in the voter's column, and his initials in the column of the candidate he votes for; this is all that is required; a few minutes do for each voter for all the elections; and a few hours, for all the voters."

I asked if there was not a great deal of dissatisfaction and ill-will in those disappointed of power and honours, and the consequent advantages?

One of the district presidents replied, "two of us now present, were candidates for the office of chief president, at the time our present worthy president was elected. To express the least dissatisfaction, would be as impolitic, as unjust. The man who utters an expression tending to disunion, or censuring the conduct of the people, would be thought discontented with the laws of the country, and would never again have the least chance of attaining the honour he aimed at. There is no emolument attached to office in our country, except the cultivating the portions of those who are employed for the public, during their absence, can be so considered: and this is done equally, for every individual whether in office or not. Our pay is honour; it is the only meed suitable to

noble minds: the being judged worthy to fill a situation, is the great and proper reward of office. In our country, we cannot accumulate wealth; our pursuits are, first, knowledge, the foundation of all good, on which we endeavour to raise honour, and the respect, and the love of our country."

The conversation was now resumed by the chief president, who said, "there is no unnecessary power or consequence attached to any situation. As servants of the people, those in office, except when acting in their respective stations, have no more power or consequence than other men. In short, ours is merely a government framed and made ready in all its parts, so as to be erected in part, or the whole, as occasion may require: it is always ready, but is rarely needed."

"The three houses of assembly enact laws for all which may be required between man and man; for all internal regulations between districts, divisions, and villages, for all concerns which are local, and for all which are termed moral laws. They also regulate the detail of those laws which are primary or constitutional; such being enactments by the whole people, and which cannot be altered but by the people, in the manner I shall describe. I shall only first observe, that any enactment may have its origin with any one in any of the three houses of assembly, by motion; or by memorial from any individual, or number of individuals, not in office. These memorials, or proposals, become laws, after passing the three

legislative powers, and the president, in three readings; (the chief president attends the readings and debates, but does not join them, in the house of the district presidents;) and they may become part of the constitution by passing the legislative assemblies, as I have just mentioned, and being afterwards approved by the people, demonstrated by four fifths of the votes of the whole."

"I hope I have made myself understood, that the plan of our constitution is, that the members of the three houses of representatives, and the chief president, as already detailed, (who are annually elected by the people,) cannot add to, or diminish their own power, or the power of each other, either jointly or separately. That any act of the whole respecting each other, or the whole of them, would be null and void, and of no effect. And that any alteration in their power, separately or together, must arise from a majority of four fifths of the votes of the whole people; as this law of the constitution was first enacted."

"It is also a part of the constitution, that every officer of the public, from the chief president to the village magistrate, is elected a year in advance; that is, we who are now in office, through every gradation, had all our successors for the ensuing year elected before we came into office; and before we leave it, each must preside at the election of a successor, for his successor. We consider this to have many very important advantages, beside that of preventing confusion. No man can suc-

ceed to the same office again, till two years have elapsed from the time of his going out of it. In cases of improper, or suspicious conduct, the people can remove any officer in the country: the power that makes, can abrogate.

"It is necessary to remark, that any alteration in the constitution, or in the primary laws, which are equally sacred, and in fact, are part of the constitution, as they cannot be altered or annulled, but by the same power which can alter or abolish it, which is by the suffrages of four fifths of the whole people entitled to vote: in these cases, none who are entitled, as before described, to a vote, are allowed to stand neuter. So tenacious are we of keeping entire a constitution and laws which are very generally esteemed by us, the best and happiest we can devise. All other, or what may be called common elections, are decided by simple majority."

"In addition to the principles of the constitution, of which I have recited some of the leading ones, the laws which we call primary, or constitutional, are,—

"1st.—It is enacted that all land taken into cultivation, or occupied, by the people of New Britain, shall be divided into lots or portions, each of dimensions which must be decided by its quality, equal to the production of the necessaries and the comforts of life for a family. That on

each portion, there shall be a house erected, of the usual size of those built throughout the country, of the materials which the neighbourhood affords, by common effort and mutual assistance. That the surplus produce from the portions, where the family is small, and does not consume it, be stored for the public use, to form a general store throughout the country, of a full year's stock before-hand, to meet incidental wants, and to guard against the possibility of famine. This arrangement is just and necessary; as the wants of all families will vary; almost every one will at one time have to spare, and will at another time have need of all their produce; and what is for the security and good of the whole, all must support. It is therefore unjust and unlawful for any one to neglect making his portion productive, to the utmost of his power, because he may not want the whole produce for his own use. That system which brings a portion of the labour of youth, to the assistance of age, or the surplus of all, to the relief of the necessities of others, is the securest of all riches; it forms an unfailing resource for all.

"2nd.—Justice is the foundation virtue, upon which every other virtue must be erected. It is not just for individuals to acquire, by power or address, all that may be thus acquired (though the common practice of almost all nations); as it leads inevitably to tyranny and slavery, which are alike, inconsistent with justice. It is therefore enacted, that every man, having attained the age

or time at which the commonweal permits his settling in life, that of marrying, shall have one house with its portion of land in his own right; but on no account or consideration whatever, more than one.

"3rd.—It is enacted, that every man shall cultivate his own portion, and shall bring up his children to the practice of cultivation; and that every one shall also learn and practice some useful business, for the general comfort and convenience, and shall bring up his children in the same practice. That no one shall have or possess a slave or slaves; or shall have a servant or servants, hired or otherwise, male, or female; or shall permit himself or herself, to be hired as a servant; but that all shall labour for, and assist each other, in cases of need, as equals and brethren: as God created all mankind."

"4th.—It is enacted, that no money of any kind, or note for money, be coined, or made current, in New Britain. That no metal in bars, pieces, or otherwise, or any gems, or precious stones, be used as a medium of exchange, or of valuing any commodity, or product of industry; such marks of value being convenient for accumulation, which produces tyranny and slavery; but that all the produce of the time usually allotted to labour, be given and received as a common stock. That time being the real and only valuable brought by man to the social stock, where all give an equal

portion of it, all are equally entitled, whatever be their particular production. If any should refuse to give the usual portion of their time for the comfort and convenience of all; they are not entitled to receive from the common stock as a right; but may have their wants supplied by individuals in the way of charity: if any should be inclined, thus to encourage the breakers of the law, and the idle."

"5th.—That, as it is neither good for the mental, nor bodily health of man, to live in continual labour; and as no acquisition of decoration in dress or furniture, can be an adequate compensation for so great a sacrifice, it is enacted, that the labour of man be confined within two hours a day, for the cultivation of his land, and the management of his stock, as absolutely necessary; and that it be confined within two hours more a day, for the production of needful comforts and conveniencies, by means of the business or businesses he may understand: that this be considered as an average, as in cases of absolute need the time may be extended to meet the necessity. And it is understood, that as knowledge is requisite to understand what is just in society, before we can effectually support it, that no consideration shall allow the spirit of this enactment to be departed from; but that the remaining part of the six days allotted to labour, after the four hours of each before specified, be at the disposal of every one, for the attainment and communication of knowledge,

the performance of domestic duties, and for healthful exercises."

"6th.—It is enacted, that every village throughout the country, that is or may be erected, shall have a village-house, containing four school-rooms; three libraries, for morality, science, and amusement; a room, or rooms, for philosophical instruments; rooms for depositing machinery, useful for building, models, and the village stores; and a hall for the transaction of its public business. That every village is entitled for its library to a copy of every work produced or reprinted in the country, as soon as copies can be sufficiently multiplied by those who make printing their business. That these libraries be, and are, the equal right of every one. That thus, all the knowledge of the country may be equally and generally diffused throughout it; all its genius and talent educed for the common good; and, that those who have only the usual share of talent, may have it cultivated, and thereby expanded to its utmost capability: that ignorance, the parent of injustice, and its attendant evils, may be banished the land."

"7th.—It is enacted, that every child, both male and female, be educated publicly. That there be in every village, two schools for the males, and two for the females; the first schools for each sex to be appropriated to those from five to eleven years of age, and the second, to those from eleven to the completion of sixteen. From sixteen to

the completion of eighteen years of age, the youth of each sex to be assistant teachers; at once to benefit others and themselves, and to fix upon their minds what they have learned. That it is the duty of every adult, male and female, to assist in this most important of all duties; and that they do it alternately; and in such numbers, and to those classes, as may best render their attention efficient. And it is further enacted, that the three assemblies of the country, and the chief president, do make a declaratory law, or laws, for the particular regulations in this matter, which may be now, or hereafter required."

8th.—It is enacted, to prevent the introduction of want and distress, and their attendant evils, into the country, that none shall marry till they have in possession in their own right, by age and rotation, a house and portion for their occupation. That as, in the old settled parts of the country, this will always lay a restraint, and be a cause of delay for some years to all, it is binding equally upon all and every one; and that no deviation from this law, which is strictly necessary to the general welfare, can, on any account, or unforeseen circumstance, be allowed, but on four fifths of the voters of the division approving of it, and on its being also approved of by the county and district courts: equal restraint being necessary for the general good. Any person having been once married, and having a family equal or nearly approaching to what his or her portion will support,

cannot marry again, unless such family are of age to manage the portion, and the man, or woman, marrying such person, is in possession of, or entitled to a portion so free, either in his or her division, or on the borders, as to be equal to their support, and that of their probable family: this to be judged of, and decided as aforesaid. That those who prefer marrying early, to waiting their rotation for the sake of settling in their native division, or in that of the person they have chosen, (they having the choice of either division when they live in separate ones,) may, on providing a habitation upon any portion unoccupied, in any of the villages on the borders of the country, marry when they please, after both the parties have attained the age of twenty-one years. Earlier marriages are on no account permitted, as they tend to induce a weak state of health in the females of the country, and to the production of a weak and sickly progeny. No marriage is valid which takes place contrary to these regulations. To prevent errors, the birth of every child is to be registered in a book kept in the village house by the magistrate; and a copy of each village register is to be kept in the division house, under the care of the president of division. Both the parents of any child, the fruit of connection before marriage, shall be put back upon the marriage rotation list, seven years; and they shall not be of age to occupy a new portion upon the borders till they have attained the age of twenty-eight years. When the country becomes bounded by our neighbours, so as to admit of no

more occupation of new portions, then, the whole of the people to be subject to the law of regulation of marriages, as by this enacted for the old settled parts of the country; each couple waiting their seniority to occupy the vacancies continually occurring. Laws declaratory of the foregoing, or regulating the plan of seniority for couples where there is considerable disproportion of age; or for the occupation of portions where families, altered in their relations or dependance by age or death, wish to live unitedly may be passed by the three assemblies of the country, and the chief president; but it is to be understood, that they have no power to enact any law which shall, in any wise, infringe upon the true intent, spirit and meaning of this primary law. This, though apparently too restrictive and rigorous, is, in truth, vitally important and essential to the continuance of the happiness of the community, and to the permanent welfare of the state."

9th.—That commerce is, too generally, a system of injustice, thriving upon, or using particular information to take advantage of the want of it in others; and that all manufactures for commerce, contribute to the vices of avarice and unjust accumulation. That its obvious tendency is, to an improper state of labour and danger to many, for the advantage of a few, dividing society into slaves and tyrants, though the odious fact be attempted to be softened down by other appellations. It sacrifices, to furnish a few with contemptible luxu-

ries, (which add nothing to real comfort, but most of which generate disease, and shorten life,) the liberty, the certainty of competence, and consequently, the happiness of all. Commerce, and the manufactures, which support it, when successful, increase population, by causing early marriages (where there is no restraint) and by other means, so that the consumption of the necessaries of life cannot be supplied by the country. It still increases while this deceitful appearance of good continues, and supplies itself with the necessaries of life from other countries. When those countries manufacture for themselves, the demand fails; the means of importing the necessaries of life fail with it; the produce of the country is insufficient for its inhabitants; and the dreadful consequences are famine and misery, and not unfrequently anarchy and bloodshed. It is therefore enacted, that no commerce, or manufactures for commerce, be allowed on any pretence. It is understood that this law does not prevent the intercourse of our people with others, to give the surplus of the necessaries of life, of our country, to supply the occasional deficiencies of theirs; but not so as to encourage their deficiencies of system; and that this surplus, on those occasions, must be given, and received, in the spirit of universal citizenship, without the contemptible restrictions of a bargain. And, that this law does not interfere with, but encourages, the diffusion and reception of knowledge and useful discoveries, in a spirit despising avarice."

10th.—Fully convinced that all wars for conquest and aggrandisement are unjust, in which governments use the lives and property of the people as mere engines of power, and weights in the balance, in opposition to rival governments; and that the people of New Britain may never become instruments of such injustice and murder, it is enacted, that no war is, or can be permitted, but in defence. That to prevent this principle of humanity and justice, from inviting the attacks of other people, and also to prevent designing, wicked, and ambitious men, from attempting to raise themselves over the people of this nation, supposing them to be weak and unprepared to resist any attempt upon their liberty, and thereby altering and enslaving the state; it is further enacted, that every man of able body shall be, and is, a soldier; and is hereby bound to render himself an efficient defender of the country, constitution, and laws, against every enemy, internal and external, that may arise. The detail of this primary law, to be regulated by an act of the three assemblies of the state, and the president."

11th.—It is enacted, that in the worship of God, the Great Author of All, there shall be no establishment; but that every one shall approach, and worship Him, in the manner which, in his or her judgment and conscience, he or she may consider the most acceptable. That it is unlawful for any person, or number of persons, in the confidence of the truth of their own opinions, to dictate to others,

or to accuse them of error, as every person is equally fallible, and liable to err, and every one has equally his future happiness at stake, and consequently has an equal inducement to be sincere; that standing alone, in opinion, does not constitute error, neither do numbers set up truth. It is enjoined that no person, for the sake of conformity, shall follow any profession of faith which they do not judge to be the best, as it would be an offence to the Deity, and would introduce hypocrisy into the land; and, that all do examine for themselves, for to be indifferent in this most important matter, is highly reprehensible, irrational, and impious. And that it be impressed upon the minds of all, that it is the most egregious vanity in man, to think, that any thing he can do, or any form of worship he may follow, can augment the honour of the Great Author of Life; but that it is the duty of man, amidst every diversity of opinion, to be honestly and sincerely guided by reason, and to make justice and humanity, the chief rule and measure of our conduct. That no religion can be wrong, which induces attention and submission to that which ennobles our nature, reason; and that none can be right which teaches or permits the violation of it. That this life is the vestibule of existence, that virtue and wisdom will accompany mankind to other states of being, while all other acquisitions, which have not these for their stamina and foundation, will fail and depart from them; that, therefore it is of the very first importance, how

time, life's true riches, be spent; and that no plan of life can be right, no system of religion true, that is not founded on reason, the distinguishing nature of man, the true use and exercise of which includes every virtue, and thus comprises true wisdom."

"12th.—That the three assemblies of the country, and the president, have power to enact laws, declaratory and explanatory of these primary laws; but that they have no power to alter or infringe upon them in any case, or manner, whatever."

The president now observed, "I have related to you these primary laws, in their true spirit, though for want of a better memory, not in every case, in their express words; but as they are in the possession of every one, you can have a copy, and correct my deviations. I have also given some of the reasons for the enactment of them, perhaps a little improperly, with the laws themselves.

"To these primary laws, we prefix this great rule of permission and restraint, as our moral sun to light us to just enactments, and to regulate our decisions in all cases. "*Thou mayest do all things, which all may do without injury to any one; thou mayest not do any thing, but what all may do, without injury to any one.*"

We now parted for the night. In the morning, I filled up my notes, of this account of their constitution and laws, which I afterwards collated with a copy of them, and finding it essentially correct, I did not think it necessary to re-write the whole.

CHAP. VI.

SUBSTANCE OF DESULTORY CONVERSATIONS ON SOME OF THE CRIMINAL LAWS OF NEW BRITAIN; AND OTHER SUBJECTS.

IN the morning we breakfasted with the chief president and his family, and the president of the district, and his beautiful daughter. The conversation commenced by my asking some questions concerning their criminal laws.

"We," said the district president, "have no law inflicting the punishment of death."

Sir George said, "what then is your punishment for murder? Almost all nations have agreed to take life for life, and have considered it as an universal law of God and man."

The district president replied, "we consider that taking the life of his fellow creature, except in defence of himself or others, is the greatest crime man can be guilty of: it is, at once, disobedience to God, and an irreparable injury to man. We have such an abhorrence of it, that we cannot

be persuaded that it is strictly just, or moral, even for its own punishment; we fear it would be punishing the crime by, in a measure, repeating it. We therefore consider ourselves justified only in securing the murderer from all means and opportunity of repeating his crime, and adding to the injury he has done society; we make him a perpetual prisoner, and leave the rest to God."

Sir George inquired if their prisons were solitary; and if they were numerous, as we had not yet seen one?

It was replied, "they are all solitary, but not comfortless. I will describe one to you, which will be describing all, as every one is built externally and internally, in exactly the same way. The front is a massy plain wall of very large blocks of granite, without windows, or the least relief of decoration; all the walls, both the outer and the inner ones, are of the same strength and materials, and the roof is of the same material, of equal thickness, and forming one arch of the gothic form, as best adapted for throwing off the rain. The entrance is in the centre of this front, through a small and very strong iron door; on opening this door, you see three other iron doors, one in the centre, leading to two small rooms, and one on each hand, each leading to two other small rooms. Each of these departments is adapted to the imprisonment of one person. Thus, each prisoner has two small rooms, each lighted by a

small window near the top, strongly barred with iron, with a glass casement inside, opening and shutting by a string; the bottoms of the windows are ten feet from the floor. In one room is a small bedstead of cast-iron, all in one piece, with bed, and bed cloaths, but no posts, or furniture. The other room contains a small fire-place, the three bars of which are wrought iron of great length, let into the wall a great way at each end, the back and sides are cast-iron, very thick, cast on to, and binding the bars together, and they are surrounded with fire bricks: there is also a pair of tongs and shovel, of wood, the poker is a stick from the fire-wood; there is a table strongly attached to the wall opposite the window, and one chair, and some earthen utensils for cooking, (as all cook for themselves,) comprise the whole of the furniture. They are allowed books from the moral and serious library, and in some cases from the scientific, but never those of amusement. As to the number of our prisons, they are far beyond our wants; each of the seven districts has one, which altogether are equal to the confinement of twenty-one persons, yet we have never had, in all the districts together, more than four prisoners at one time, at present we have but one in all the country."

We asked if they had many cases of murder, to which it was replied, "too many," they had had two in the last hundred and eighty years; one from rivalship in love, and the other from un-

reasonable jealousy. They were both young men, one died soon after being confined in prison, the other lived nearly fifty years a prisoner. His constant remarks when visited by the county representatives and the district president, were, "my punishment is just; men like me, who follow passion, and not the divine principle of reason, which the Deity hath implanted in all men, are not fit to be free. I can never wish for freedom; the example would be unjust and injurious: I have already done an irreparable injury to society." By a decree of the three assemblies and the president, his liberty was restored to him; allowing the friends of the murdered man one month to appeal, for a reversal of the decree, to the whole people. Instead of appealing against the decree, they every one signed a request, that he would come and live in his native village, with his aged brother, and family, their portion being equal to the support of them all. He declined this invitation. "I cannot," he said, "support the sight of that place, where passion sunk me below my kind, and made me a ferocious beast." He accepted his liberty on condition, that he might still occupy his prison. This was permitted. He used to come out and assist any of the neighbours, during the hours of labour in the morning; he would then take a book and retire to his two rooms. He was often pressed to spend the afternoon with them at their houses, or in the libraries, but could not be prevailed upon. He would, sometimes, on these occasions say, "it is a great and undeserved indulgence to, and

mark of confidence in me, that I am allowed to enjoy the open air, and to walk in the light of the sun. No decree can raise me to my forfeited equality with the rest of mankind. The kind forgiveness of a whole people whom I have offended, cannot make me guiltless: alas! I have much to do, I must endeavour to reconcile my offended God." Thus he lived nine years more; and at last died upon the bed of his voluntary prison house."

The relation of this affecting circumstance, made the tears stream down the cheeks of the females, and moistened every eye. Miss Powell, the daughter of the district president, appeared more beautiful through her tears, and I now saw clearly, what I before suspected, that the heart of Sir George was entangled. This he afterwards confessed. It was his first love. "Ah," said he, "I must either leave this country immediately, or settle in it. I have but two doubts, the first is, that what I hope is sympathy in the object of my affections, may prove to be only her natural kindness of disposition; and the second, is, that in a country, where learning is general and talent common, I shall make but a poor figure. I cannot divest myself of the desire to shine. As to giving up a large estate, in Old England, I consider the certainty of competence and the freedom from anxiety on this subject, to me and to all the descendants I might have, as secured by the wise institutions of the New Britons, to be far more than a compensation."

But I return from this digression, and shall proceed to relate the particulars I noted down, or recollect of the conversations which occurred, occasionally, during this, and several days which we passed with the same society, with frequent additions of company. I shall, in this, and the following chapter, relate what passed in conversations, and what we noticed relative to some other of their criminal laws, and on many desultory subjects, not arranged in order, but as they occurred, and are in the notes I hastily made at the time; and shall reserve a brief account of their history, of their military and defensive policy and arrangements, and of their religious opinions, for separate chapters.

They punish all attempts against the constitution of the country with imprisonment, but there have been no prisoners for this crime for many years. The present constitution and customs have existed more than two centuries. In the first ten years there were several attempts to restore the old order of things, by men who were accustomed to idleness and authority, and who were the slaves of unjust ambition and avarice. They all failed, and every succeeding attempt was feebler than the one which preceded it; every one becoming sensible of the substantial justice and advantages of the new order of society.

Upon one occasion, Mr. Powell observed, "that the most frequent crime which is now punished by incarceration is illegal sexual intercourse. If

intercourse of this nature is discovered, the parties are separated; and they are put back as to coming of age, and on the marriage rotation list, as the law ordains. If after this they are known to have been together without the presence of a third person, except in accidentally meeting, the one most offending is subject to imprisonment; but this sentence is never enforced except in cases of obstinacy. They are mostly sent for a few months to work the usual hours of labour at the lead or iron mines; if the female, at spinning, &c. in some distant county. In case of attempting a repetition of secret visits, the party so offending is to work all the time of restraint, which the law requires, in some distant county or district; but should he or she refuse, imprisonment is the consequence. So determined are they to prevent a population arising, for which there is no certain provision; as the evil would lead directly to the overthrow of their independence, and of all their institutions. Their primary law for the regulation of marriage, it has been already observed, ordains seven years' waiting beyond the usual regulations for the birth of a child, under these circumstances; or for illicit connection. A circumstance which happened a few years ago, rendered it needful for the legislature to add, "that for a second offence, fourteen years delay should be imposed, from the time of the offence, or birth of the child, if any; and for a third, absolute separation till the female shall be fifty years of age. Such parents or persons having illicit connection, if single, are consi-

dered by the law as betrothed from the first offence; they must marry at the time appointed by the law. Should one of the parties be married, the penalty is seven years' restraint to the unmarried party, and both are punished as adulterers."

"The man now in durance," Mr. Powell said, "is there for obstinacy in this crime. He pleaded, 'that the fault was natural.' It was replied to him, 'that reason was also in the nature of man; that it impressed upon them, (the president and the jury,) that if they followed nature only in the gratification of the passions, they should soon be as miserable as other nations; but that, if they followed nature by the light of reason, its sun, they should enforce due restraint upon every one, for the good of all."

I asked what effect these regulations had upon the increase of their population?

The chief president replied, "I have conversed with some of your English manufacturers, when I was at New York, and have read your statements of population at various times. From all I have heard and read, I conclude that our population increases, on the borders, in a ratio that would surprise the inhabitants of Europe, if they had not heard of the rate of increase of the United States. The villages, on the borders of the country, where they generally marry soon after the age of twenty-one, as the vicinity of unoccupied land makes it a

matter of indifference about leaving their native villages, their population is doubled in from eighteen to twenty-one years: this estimate is exclusive of the settlers from the interior. In the interior, we maintain our population, and send off numerous settlers, who, by thus seeking a settlement on the confines, enable those who remain to marry earlier. The great principle of our laws of marriage is, to encourage the increase of a healthy population, as long as there is room for it; and to prevent it increasing to a public injury, where the room is limited."

"From these regulations, and our having no large towns or cities, our children are mostly very healthy, and but few die. They are not like the children, I have heard described, of your large manufacturing towns and cities, where three parts out of four die in their youth, and those who survive are frequently cripples or weakly, and drag along, a burden to themselves, through life."

We asked what was their punishment for adultery, in married persons, and if it was a frequent crime?

The president replied, "the punishment is imprisonment to both the parties. The married adulterer or adulteress may after that time be received by his or her offended partner, but this is quite optional: if obdurate, the offending party must go and reside with his or her friends, who have the

convenience, and are willing to receive him or her. If one of the offenders be unmarried, besides the imprisonment, he or she is put back seven years upon the rotation list of marriage. We thus punish the crime by restraint upon the gratification which leads to it: we think this the most suitable, as well as effectual punishment."

"As to the frequency of the offence, I am happy to have it in my power to reply, that it is scarcely known. From what we have heard, and read of other countries, we consider this to arise from our not having various classes of society. We conclude, from the means of information before mentioned, that the middle classes of society are, in all countries, the most virtuous; that seduction is a vice most successful among the high and dissipated, or among the low and ignorant, when it attacks equals; and that in other cases, it is chiefly successful in attacks upon inferiors. We have neither high nor low. We have but one class; and its members understand too well their own happiness, to think themselves flattered by any attentions tending to dishonour. Our great safeguard of virtue is, that all have an equal share of honour, family and personal, to support. To this may be added, our continual employment in labour, domestic occupations, reading, philosophical inquiries, exercises, and public amusements, which together prevent injury from that principal material of the hotbeds of every vice, waste time. Thus are our females preserved from the shocking de-

gradation of prostitution, "so disgraceful to most countries."

I asked if they had introduced the vaccine inoculation?

The president said, "we have not made it general, but have left it to the adoption of individuals, and to the judgment of the faculty. It is for want of being fully satisfied that it is preferable to our own plan, of inoculating every young child, after due preparation, with the small pox, in which practice we do not lose more than one in a thousand, that we do not enforce it, not that we are less careful than European governments of the human race. We, on the contrary, are particularly careful of human life, but we do not encourage population to fill up our armies to oppress and destroy others, or to sacrifice their lives in laborious and dangerous sea-voyages, the mere slaves, of the slaves of ambition or avarice. We are solicitous that none may be born, but to the means of comfort and happiness, and that they may enjoy the full period of the life of man. We consider mankind as beings too important to have their happiness and lives destroyed by thousands, I may say, millions, to gratify the vile and capricious passions of a few of their equals."

I observed, the prevailing opinion in England is, that the vaccine inoculation is a great benefit,

being a preventive of the small-pox, which had proved a very fatal disease.

He said, "it would not have been so fatal if proper attention had been paid to the inoculation of children while young; one in a thousand is not a large proportion of deaths in a malady that is so mortal when neglected. Have your physicians clearly proved that this preventive does not leave behind it, disease of some other kind, equal to this loss by small-pox inoculation, or that the small-pox inoculation, properly treated, does not remove a full equivalent of evils? There is one circumstance of vaccine inoculation, which implies a danger, on which, experience has not yet, I believe, enabled the faculty to give an opinion. It is this, the vaccine matter alters the fluids of the human body, so as to destroy the peculiar matter, or modification of them, which supports the disease of the small-pox, as completely (some think) as the small-pox itself does, but not in the same way. Cows, in which this matter originates, are not subject to the small-pox; now, as it does not appear to remove that which supplies the disease of the small-pox, but only to alter its modification, does it not thereby alter the fluids to a state, in this respect, approaching to the fluids of cattle; and is it unreasonable to fear, that in case of epidemic diseases among the latter, the subjects of vaccination may be liable to some of them? In short, may not that change of the human fluids

which frees them, like the animal from which the cause of it is taken, from the attack of the small-pox, render them subject to some of the diseases which are peculiar to that animal?"

Sir George inquired, if they ever conferred honours, rewards, or titles upon the deserving, or left all to the consciousness of desert?

The district president replied, "we reward every species of desert with honour; it is published and entered on the records of every district, county, division, and village. We have no rewards of property, like other nations: what can we add, in this way, that is really of any value, to those who have secured, to themselves and their posterity, all that is truly good and useful? Their descendants may read in the public records, the honours of their house, and incite their own emulation. Discoveries in science, or mechanism, literary works, medical or surgical discoveries, agricultural and all other useful improvements, are immediately forwarded, printed or written, to every village in the nation, for the common good; and the name of the author of the work, improvement, or discovery always accompanies it. Useful industry has also its honours. About fifty years ago, there was, about fourteen miles below, where you entered this district, a large swampy piece of land, in which a rivulet became stagnant, and was lost, and by which the air in the neighbourhood

was rendered unhealthy. One hundred and forty-six men, inhabitants of three adjoining villages, petitioned the assemblies of the country, for leave to work four extra hours each day, during one summer. Their petition was granted. They cut a channel for the brook, drained the land in such a manner, that it now yields to none in the country for quality, and upon it, there are now seven villages. The next summer, without any extension of their usual time of labour, they erected a corn and fulling mill upon the brook. Thus they gave health to the neighbourhood, means to grind their corn, and full their cloth, and portions near their old homes, to above thirteen hundred families. The circumstance is recorded with all their names, and other particulars. Sometimes the land proves better than it is thought to be on the first view of it, in which case, the allotments are larger than needful, and frequently they are rendered better by cultivation; in these cases, it is common for the occupiers, of their own accord, to apportion parts of two or more of the portions, to form another, and build a house like their own; thus making room for other families. These things also meet their deserved honour. The principle of making the land supply as many families as possible, is just, and also strengthens us as a people."

It was remarked by Sir George, that these were wise regulations and customs, but, said he, "You have not said whether you ever confer titles on your

great men. With us they are common, and descend to their children, as incentives to emulate the virtues of their ancestors."

"Our opinions," he replied, "are different to yours on this subject. We consider it ridiculous to honour a man for the merit or actions of his ancestors; and still more so, that the greater the number of years, and removes by generations, from the man of desert, the greater the supposed honour. We also differ from you when you think they incite to emulation, they being fully as likely to make a man rest upon this fancied superiority, as to induce him to exert himself to obtain a real one. A man of virtue, talents, and assiduity, will be great, though he commence life without a title; a man without these will never be great, though a coronet may have adorned his cradle. We will suppose a man of high title to die unexpectedly, that some distant relation succeeds to the title and supposed honour, a state you consider to be very superior to his former one, yet reason cannot perceive any alteration for the better in the individual: can any man then, have confidence sufficient to assert that an empty word elevates the man, or is a suitable reward for merit? The proper reward for merit is, to make the merit known: this we do to the utmost of our power."

Sir George observed, that, in England, riches were thought necessary for the encouragement of the arts and sciences.

To this it was replied, "riches, in the common acceptation of the term, more commonly encourages luxury, dissipation, and carelessness about every thing, and that when they are turned, by caprice or vanity, to patronise the arts, there can be no dependence upon the continuance of such patronage. The leisure of our people, and the certainty of independance, are far more efficient encouragements to them. Here all talent is called forth, and, no views of interest, no pressure of necessity, no fear of power, divert it from its proper aim, the grandeur of nature. Were it not so, freedom, and the certainty of competence to all, would be but ill-exchanged for statues and pictures, in the houses of the rich. With us, literature, science, and arts, are more encouraged by our great leisure, by universal competence, and by the exemption from every care of amassing riches, than we think, they possibly can be, by the partial and uncertain assistance from wealth accumulated in large masses. You have, no doubt, observed some of our statues and pictures in the village-halls and libraries, and in private houses; you have also examined our scientific researches, and our literature: are we very far behind the sons of patronage in these pursuits?"

Sir George acknowledged that their works of art were equal to any he had ever seen, with a freedom and originality of design peculiar to themselves; and that their progress in science and the arts, appeared to be proportionate.

Their offences, disputes, and all cases for trial, are carried to the division court, and a jury is taken by lot, from the villages of the division most distant from the residence of the parties to be tried, or where cause is to be heard. To prevent partiality in the administration of the laws, the names of the parties, except in criminal cases, are concealed, and their causes are tried in fictitious names, thus they accuse A, or A and B, and thus the evidence on both sides is brought forward: and no juryman is permitted to try the cause till he has declared his entire ignorance of, or at least freedom from intimacy with the parties. In divisions, where the circumstances of a case are notorious, and might possibly with difficulty gain an unprejudiced hearing there, it is removed to the county court, (as are appeals from the division courts,) and the jury are drawn from the most distant divisions. All cases are tried immediately, or as soon as possible, this is no inconvenience, as they are not of frequent occurrence; and they consider that the delay of justice, is injustice.

They remarked with surprise, on the expence of law in England. "It is strange," said they, "after all the taxes you pay to support your government, that it does not provide the means of justice to all parties without cost. Your present system holds it at a price, that the rich only, or those comparatively so, can purchase it. A man in moderate circumstances, suffering injury or loss, hazards the

completion of his ruin by seeking redress. Thus laws in themselves equitable, become unjust and partial, through their means of application. What can be said of the ultimate justice of a good law, the enforcement of which, one man can purchase with a week or a day's income, while the whole property of another is insufficient to obtain it? We cannot conceive any legitimate purpose or employment for governments, if to dispense justice be not one: those cannot be good which neglect so obvious a duty."

"All this is very true," Sir George replied, "but how should we prevent litigious characters, in a country like ours, from continually harassing the courts of justice with unreasonable suits, who are now only deterred by the fear of the expenses?"

"You might," said the district president, "as property is so universally valued among you, present unreasonable applications, by fining those who brought actions without just cause, in sums equal to the present costs, which would be pretty large and effectual; from these fines, the expenses of the establishment of the courts of justice might be defrayed, and the remainder, if any, might go to the exigencies of your government."

"What then," said Sir George, "would become of all our lawyers! Have you none who make law a profession?"

"Our laws," he replied, "are few and simple, they are contained in a few pages, and are in the possession of every man. All causes are pleaded by the parties or their friends. We have no long arguments upon precedents, which frequently contradict each other. It avails nothing, in the pursuit of justice, how many precedents can be brought in support of what is not just, they do not change its nature; the longer unjust and oppressive precedents have continued, and the more numerous they may have become, the sooner they should be disclaimed: pure justice does not require precedents to support it. We endeavour to do justice in the case before us, either in the houses of assembly or the courts of justice, without regard to decisions formerly made by others, from the simple statement of the facts, and then judging upon them; in this we are assisted by the familiar knowledge of our laws, which are derived from the simple principles of justice. A party thinking himself aggrieved, may appeal to the higher courts, but we have very few instances of judgments being reversed, and but in a very few cases have any procured a mitigation of the censure, public labour, or imprisonment, to which they were sentenced."

I said, "you have most likely read some of our trials for libel, and you no doubt have some, who either from a love of justice, or from revenge, or envy, write or promulgate accounts to the disadvantage of others; what is your law in such cases?"

The president replied, "any person publishing, or reporting any account, imputing any unjust, or dishonourable act, conduct, or language to another or others, is obliged by our laws, TO PROVE THE TRUTH OF WHAT HE HAS ADVANCED. If he fails, he is subject to centure, public labour, or imprisonment, according to the atrocity of the charge, and is obliged to publish an acknowledgment of his fault. If he succeeds, he is publicly thanked for opposing and exposing vice, while the party whom he has exposed, is censured; and the decision is added to the alleged libel, then no longer a doubtful production or subject. We do not allow any person, or any number or body of men, who commit unjust or dishonourable acts, a power of punishing, or having punished, the person who relates or publishes them. Whatever a man does may be related, the crime or disgrace, if any, is in the act, not, in the mention of it. Who most breaks the peace, he who writes or speaks of wrong with indignation, or he who commits that wrong? We have very few cases of this nature. Cases of libel are generally for things which are not defined by law, and are thus brought to a hearing. A man accused in writing, or otherwise, not calling upon his accuser, would be considered guilty of the charge; but any accusation against a person or persons, would be read or heard, without the least degree of credit, if unaccompanied with the accuser's name and residence."

Speaking of the qualifications for office, the district president said, "a man must have been a

village magistrate, before he is eligible as a candidate for president and representative of division; he must have been president of division, before he can stand for a county; have represented a county before he can be a candidate for a district; and must have been president of a district before he is eligible as a candidate for the presidency of the country. These regulations give time to know a man as he advances."

"In cases of emergency, every man not already appointed to office, is a messenger, or any thing else, which the circumstances require, under the direction of the magistrates, so that we have no want of officers."

"Any person may take books from the libraries for his convenience at home, but must write his name on a slip of paper, and leave it in the place, saying also, when it will be returned. The person next wanting it, either for home, or in the library, writes his name underneath, which is always considered as giving priority of claim. This is only to be understood of old occupants of the libraries; all new works remain a certain time, according to their size, before they can be removed from it.

We noticed that there are considerable collections of natural curiosities in the libraries, they are intended for county museums; they think they will thus be more convenient and useful, than if collected in one place.

Sir George asked, if they were much subject to the fevers which so frequently proved fatal to many of the inhabitants of the United States.

They observed, that not having cities or large towns prevented the spreading of infectious diseases, and, they thought, probably the production of those which are epidemic. They say great cities, generally speaking, are the exuberances of human kind, that there the rank and purient are collected, and facilitate their own corruption, both in health and morals, by being in a mass.

They have no hospitals; the sick are always attended at their own houses, if taken ill at home, if travelling, they can take the strangers' house, where the humanity of the people always supplies plenty of attendants. If an infectious disease appears, its limits are surrounded with a small yellow cord, which it is a great public crime to pass, except for medical men, who may be supposed to understand the means necessary to prevent their communicating the disease. If the disease be ascertained, and there are any who have had it before, and are therefore judged not so liable to be infected by it, they generally attend upon the sick. Those also who have had any communication with the sick are kept by themselves, till it is seen whether they are infected or not. These regulations, and the confidence placed in those who have made medicine and surgery their study, who advise them,

making them readily adhered to, soon extirpate any incipient infectious disorder.

The president said, "our females take one part of the profession entirely upon themselves, namely, that of midwifery, and their success in it makes all quite satisfied with the arrangement. They also attend their own sex in many other cases. Proficiency in the profession is counted honourable among them. Their progress in this and other studies has convinced us, that the female power of mind is not so inferior by nature, to that of man, as many have asserted or insinuated, but that it principally owes its inferiority to the deficiency of education. It is unjust to expect those who are only educated to dress, to play, and to sew, to be proficients in literature, science, or arts, like those who have been reared in the study of them. Can any one say, that if these systems of education were reversed, men would, assisted by the native vigour of their minds only, surmount the difficulties in their way, and rise to eminence in literature and science; or that females would not, by such aids, rise very superior to their present attainments, in countries where they are neglected? Our experience proves that the female mind abundantly repays the cares of cultivation. What do the histories of some of the Asiatic countries say in elucidation of this subject? The education of their men is more than half feminine, compared to the European system, and the consequence is, that they never make half the progress of Europeans

in any mental or manly pursuit. Our common opinion, from which arises our system of education, is, that every mind should be made the most of, without regard to sex. Intelligent mothers and fathers are an inexhaustible source of pleasure and advantage to each other, to their children, and to society."

These remarks of the president were called forth by Sir George having endeavoured to defend the English system of female education.

CHAP. VII.

CONTINUATION OF DESULTORY SUBJECTS OF CONVERSATION AND OBSERVATION.

THESE chapters on desultory subjects contain remarks on some parts of the policy and manners of the New Britons, which may have been noticed before, and may probably be again incidentally noticed in the course of this narrative. In a short stay in a country, so interesting and original in many things, it was necessary to minute down observations and conversations as they occurred, and as many of these tend to illustrate some, both of the preceding and following accounts, I hope I shall be pardoned, not only the want of proper arrangement, but also in some instances the repetition of the same ideas. It may also be pleaded in my excuse, that these instances of repetition are only partially so, as subjects mentioned before, frequently become necessary to the elucidation of the matter in relation. Also, that they are sometimes the views of different men of the country on the same subjects, and have a tendency to give more correct ideas of them, as different points of obser-

vation cause the same objects to appear differently, and thus correct each other, and as probably no two men have exactly the same point of intellectual observation, my relating, in some cases, the views of more than one, may afford more perfect means of understanding the subjects thus repeated.

The time for one of the two half-yearly meetings of the assembly of district presidents being come, we had an opportunity of enjoying their society and conversation, and also of many of the county representatives, who also met, but not having any business before them, they declared the country did not then need their services in assembly, and retired to their respective homes.

Sir George and I were invited to these assemblies. They are open to all. I shall only describe the meeting of the chief president, and the district presidents, which being in substance the same as that of the county presidents, will give a correct idea of both. The president took the chair, and said, "we are now met, according to the constitution of our country, to know, if any president of a district has any matter to represent, requiring the interference of the constituted authorities, for facilitating or correcting the administration of justice, or supporting and protecting the public good, either in the country generally, or in any of the districts, counties, divisions, or villages, or respecting any individual. If any president of a district

district has any thing to represent, he will declare it forthwith." None of the district presidents rising, the chief president then said, "If any one in this house of assembly has any petition to present, he is required to bring it forward, that it may be read and considered." There being also no movement by any of the people, the president said, "as there appears to be no petition nor cause of complaint, nor other matter of need, requiring our sitting in assembly, or our calling upon the assembly of the divisions of the state, this assembly is dissolved. You, my brother presidents, will be called upon, or will call upon each other, to attend here in assembly, for the good of the country, should circumstances arise to require it, during your time in office. You will be present here at the time of the second assembly for this year, that we may close it and our offices together, by making out the returns of those who will then be elected to succeed the successors of each of us. With the sincere wish, that the Beneficent Author of Nature may see continued in this nation, and extended to all others, that proper use of His divine gift of reason, inducing all men to be truly just, which includes perfect freedom, and all the good this life is capable of affording; I take my leave."

The president having done speaking left, the chair; and after shaking hands, and speaking with several of the people, he came with two of the district presidents, who did not intend immediately

to return home, to us, and we walked together to his house.

We partook of tea drawn from the herbs of the country; this meal has been an occasional indulgence with some, and a constant one with others, ever since it was observed in their visits to the United States: their ancestors did not bring the practice with them. They consider it a light, pleasant, and wholesome repast; but they differ in one thing from those from whom they copied the custom, as they prefer the different aromatic herbs of their own country, to those of China.

I remarked, to the president, that if the session of assembly we had witnessed, was much like their general ones, he had well described their executive, to be rather the frame-work of a government to be put together when wanted, than a really existing government.

He replied, "we are convinced that man, in that state of virtue which would be the result of the proper use of, and obedience to reason, would need no government. This frame-work, which we preserve ready for erection, arises out of our imperfect state of virtue, with regard to ourselves, and as it respects defence against external foes, from the imperfect state of virtue in our neighbours and others, who may be led by silly ambition to molest us. Many of our sessions of assembly have been like the one you have just attended."

One of the district presidents (Mr. Powell) observed, "that the history of past ages appeared to sanction right by conquest; a maxim, which the better reasoning of the present time condemns, even in Europe, though they do not carry this liberal principle with them into practice. When I was at New York, I fell into company with some English, French, and Dutch, together with some Americans. Justice happening to become the subject of conversation, I nearly discovered, that I was neither English nor American, but I checked myself, and let them without interruption, arrive at their own conclusion. It was to this effect, that men have a right to acquire, and hold, all which they can honestly obtain, but this *honestly* meant only a specious kind of justice, which did not violate partial laws. This specious justice is certainly the source of innumerable evils to man. They did not mean what we understand by justice, when we say, that it is unjust to get or hold more than a fair and due proportion of what is necessary in life. We do not mean that this principle should obtain in those states of society, where this due proportion cannot be guaranteed inviolably to all, but we lament that the principle is, by any causes, prevented from being universal."

The president observed, "that in most countries it appeared one perpetual scene of jarring and discord between the governors and the governed. The governing party appearing to think, they have a right to continue to reap the fruits of injustice,

which was begun by their predecessors in time immemorial, the opposing party, under pretence of liberty and right, gain adherents to assist them to pull down the edifice of the government, that they may scramble for, and seize the materials only, to rebuild it in their own way, and for their particular advantage: the people, if benefited at all, receive only such unstable advantages, as are soon lost in similar practices of oppression to those they have exerted themselves to remove, and thus matter is prepared for future revolutions without end. The pure principle of right is too weak in them, each is unwilling to be oppressed, but has not sufficient of the stamina of all the virtues, justice, to be equally unwilling to oppress others. The love of justice leads, through reason, to every good this life affords; where it embraces a nation, it renders a people happy."

He proceeded, "as the only rational beings on earth, men ought to be the happiest, at least, they ought to be the freest from corporeal evils, and still more so from those which are mutually inflicted; but in the states of society which prevail in the world, they are the least so. If a party of wolves could bring up their vigorous males in the practice and study of the scientific art of attack and plunder, and its consequent murders, and were then to send them against some weaker party to exercise it, would it not be said, what vile, what odious animals those are; they have larger plains to produce food than those which they attack, they

appear actuated only by the love of cruelty and oppression; is it not wonderful, that God does not sweep them from the face of the earth? For what can they be permitted to exist? Yet man, with his boasted reason, so little attended to, does all this to man! What small state or island can be independant, in the vicinity of a large one? They are soon absorbed; or are permitted, (if it best suits the policy of the enemy, professing friendship,) to exist in a state of trembling anxiety, like condemned criminals, who continually fear that the mandate of death is already signed."

With a modesty that gave peculiar interest to beauty, Miss Powell observed, "that the circumstance of the world being divided by nature, (the law of God,) into large and small countries, into continents and islands of various dimensions, had, to her, ever appeared a decisive proof that war, except in defence, is utterly unjust; for, as the wisdom and justice of the Deity in the division could not be doubted, that principle alone could be just, which made every part of His works equally secure for man, as it respects his fellow man!

Sir George, who now began to hang upon every observation which this young woman made, and who wished to draw her into conversation, said, "but might not God, if he had pleased, have either divided the world into equal parts, as to strength and convenience, or have given man a

greater disposition for justice; or, at once have made him just!"

She replied, with a calmness which shewed she was at home with the subject, "you ask me a question which contains the whole force of anti-deism. I will, however, give you the first impressions upon my mind on the subject; and then leave it to abler heads, should they be insufficient to convince. To be made capable of justice, as you will, I doubt not, admit that we are, is even better than to be made just, as it is better to be the cause and actor, than merely the instrument of justice. Virtue, is only *our* virtue, when we have performed it of our own free motion, or displaced incentives to vice, to maintain it. To be the most splendid minister of virtue that ever ornamented human life, if not from the impulse of one's own mind, would be less conducive to happiness, through all futurity, than to be its humblest votary, with the consciousness that the portion attached to us is one's own. It is thus I satisfy myself that the principle is right, which permits strong incentives to vice, to exercise the reason of man: it is thus I satisfy myself that God is just."

Sir George expressed his conviction of the force of this young lady's arguments. And I clearly saw that the force of her mind had completed, what her person and countenance had begun: he was evidently all her own. The subject she thus discussed, being treated of more at large by some of

the sages of the country, on a subsequent occasion, I shall, if the matter contained in the notes, which I made during my stay in the country, does not swell this narration too much, give their opinions upon it in a future chapter.

The president observed, "the seductive splendour cast around military achievements, by the Grecian, Roman, and other historians and poets, is a lasting injury to mankind; and the more so, as even the suffering part of the community ignorantly join in the shouts of approbation, and thus fix the evil upon themselves. They have made patriotism the first of virtues, whereas, it is at best but a partial one, and very often a most mischievous vice, leading to innumerable and dreadful evils and excesses; witness, all its paths of unjust ambition and aggrandizement. The patriot is virtuous when he sacrifices self-interest on the altar of his country, without injury to any other people. When a man sacrifices his time, his all, which the circumstances require, with an equal view to his country, and to all mankind, he is more than a patriot, he is a philanthropist."

In our walks, during several mornings, we joined in conversation with several of the inhabitants of the villages. We were amazed at the general information of the people; among the different degrees of intelligence, there were none, who did not appear to have received instruction to the full measure of their minds. There is here none of

that paucity of mind, which is observable among the sons of intemperance, or the victims of perpetual labour.

Harvest having commenced, Sir George went every morning to assist some of the villagers in reaping and housing their corn, he also assisted in digging in their gardens, to prepare for the winter crops; all which he continued with a perseverance which astonished me. He said, "the difference between my present practice and my former one of loitering away my mornings, is, that formerly life was a dull tasteless scene, in which nothing could rouse me but the indignation I felt at the vices of society; but now, I feel a vigour and elasticity of body and mind, which makes me grateful for life as a real bounty of my Creator; and now food and society have recovered, with increase, the first its relish, and the last its delights."

I said, "I believed that Miss Powell was the cause of all this."

He replied, "it is in vain to deny her inspiration, but it is her being attended with circumstances of society equally engaging, that has rivetted her power upon me. I shall not hide my intentions from you, if I can gain her hand, I am at the end of my travels to find happiness and virtuous society."

Sir George, who had studied chemistry as an amusement, and as a science of general utility,

now worked regularly in the laboratory of a person in the village, who had made it his profession or business, during the usual hours of labour; and when the experiments or regular matter in hand required long and close attention, he never swerved from the duty. He said, he wished to try the effect of the quantity of labour, which all around performed so cheerfully, upon himself, and found, after the first difficulties were over, that it added to the real pleasures of life: and added, "I am now fully convinced that temperance is true luxury; and that the zest it gives, is superior to the whole art of cookery, besides giving health and cheerfulness to its votaries."

We dined one day at Mr. R. Powell's, brother to the district president, who is a carpenter, and lives in the village where the chief government house is situated. Our party consisted of the president, Mr. Powell the district president, the master of the house, his wife and two daughters, and their cousin. Sir George was highly pleased with this invitation, as he construed it to be favourable to his hopes.

The subject of conversation being the various forms of government which had been tried in different parts and ages of the world, I asked, which form they considered the best, for man as he is generally found, where every one is striving for property and power.

The president replied, "I have no hesitation in saying a limited monarchy is by far the best."

Sir George observed, "there are many arguments in favour of a republic, among which, to ardent minds, the possibility of any man rising to the highest office of the state, is not the least alluring; but if the president will favour us with his reasons for the preference he has given, they will probably embrace an answer to most of them."

The president said, "man in the state of society to which the argument is confined, is not virtuous enough for a republic; (in this argument, I mean by a republic, such a government as that of the United States;) and when society becomes sufficiently just and wise, that a republic, such as the one alluded to, would not lead to its own ruin, such a government would then be an unnecessary burden. A republic in a large state, will ever be found ultimately to produce results something like these; in the first stage there are contentions for wealth, power, and patronage, these are continually increasing, till the whole power of bribery and corruption is in full employment; next arise civil broils and wars in the contests for authority, till some leader, more daring or more fortunate than the rest, seizes the disputed power; and lastly, the power seized contrary to law, will not be given up in obedience to it: thus ends the republic, but not its consequences. There is now an absolute monarch, whatever title he may assume; for having violated

the laws to attain his power, he cannot recede, he cannot be limited. Thus a despotism is the result, after going the round of confusion, anarchy, and bloodshed, when a better system might have been had at once, and without these calamities, by making the chief magistracy hereditary, with proper limitations, in one of those families raised, either by accident or merit in its founder, to eminence. By a limited monarchy, all the many evils of rivalry for the chief power are obviated, and by preserving in full force the restrictions of the constitution upon it, there is equal liberty, with less danger of losing it. It may require ages to reduce a despotism to a limited monarchy; and the danger is, that when the opportunity offers, in the ebullition of resentment, or the delirium of individual and general ambition, (for ambition is the moving power,) they may unwisely begin again with a republic, and again plant the root of all the evils enumerated."

Sir George said, "I perceive, clearly, the force of your argument, and am persuaded of its truth; but, is not your government a republic?"

The president replied, "it must be acknowledged that it is, but it is in model only, we never permit the structure to be erected, but in cases of necessity, and we take it down, and, as it were, lay it up till a future time of need, as soon as the necessity for it is over. We too, you will allow, approach a little, nearer that state of society in

which, according to my argument, either of the forms of government alluded to, would be unnecessary. It is intended by our institutions and regulations, to bring mankind as near as we possibly can to that state, in which they would be, if they were sufficiently virtuous to live in society without laws.

Sir George said, "or, in other words, you are philosophers, and will not be kings; you are wise, and do not need them."

Our host said, in reply to an observation of mine, "that, that prolific and inexhaustible source of uneasiness, the perpetual striving to surpass our neighbours in the accumulation of wealth, and to possess many times more of the goods of life than we can possibly enjoy, which is not more silly than unjust, does not exist with us. Instead of striving for an unjust share of what God hath given to all, and in place of continual anxiety about possessions and pecuniary matters, we have a perfect certainty of our full share of all that is needful to happiness, to the end of life, and to our children, and children's children, to all generations, while they have the wisdom and virtue to live according to the dictates of reason, and the rules of justice. Deviation from right would bring its own punishment. While we are faithful to ourselves, care and anxiety about the future are no more. Our strife is, to excel in one or other of the various departments of mental excellence, for

which we have all abundance of leisure, opportunities, and inducements."

Sir George said, "do you really despise the advantages of wealth on other grounds than its being unjust to hold it?"

Mr. Powell, the carpenter, replied, "we do not despise *true* wealth; we consider ours to be of that kind, and better than yours, as it is general, more permanent and peaceful, and contributes more to happiness. Permit me to ask you, who have moved and mixed with the affluent and powerful in your own country, if I am not right when I say, that the gay parade, the glittering show, the splendid equipment, and the fine houses and furniture of the rich, do not produce happiness; but that the chief gratification which they give their possessors, is, the despicable one of thinking themselves envied?"

We took a tour on foot, which is the usual way of travelling in this country, except in cases of emergency, round the principal part of what is called the old country, or the first district. We were delighted with this method of travelling: it is merely a succession of pleasant walks, long or short, as the party pleases, with a home, a truly welcome and pleasant home, wherever they are inclined to stop. We visited Mr. Powell's residence as district president, and also his private one, or more properly his own; the latter is situ-

ated upon the banks of the river which runs through the pass by which we entered the district, and is little more than a mile from the pass itself, of which it commands a very fine and picturesque view.

We noticed that the river was low, and ascribed it to the dryness of the season, and the time of the year, but we found afterwards, that these were only part of the cause, the rest arising from their plan of watering the country. This plan is admirable, and shows great depth of thought, and considerable genius.

They begin at the sources of their rivers, or where they enter the country, (leaving the old bed open in its full extent to take off the floods, which seldom rise very high on account of the various drains upon them,) and take off through apertures of ascertained dimensions for each place, the needful quantity, where there is sufficient for all; and a fair proportion where there is a short supply, which is made up by wells and reservoirs. At the commencement of every rapid, or stream of sufficient fall, they lead off through small or large cuts or canals, the supply necessary, or the proportion which can be allowed for the adjoining country beneath the level of them; these are again divided and redivided, till almost the whole country is intersected with small streams or canals. Their surveys and plans have been so accurate, that situations naturally dry, are well supplied without

redundancy, and when any arises in a wet season, it is taken off by the old water-courses, into which all the cuts, after having watered the country, have their courses continued, at a distance lower down, which is determined by the nature of the country, &c. Thus, some of their rivers, which formerly carried large streams out of the country, are much reduced when they leave it. Like trees diffusing their sap through numerous branches, their rivers are made to run, and at the same time to serve all their original purposes. This method contributes at once to the fertility, the beauty, and the convenience of the country. As there are but few horses kept, it facilitates the removal of a variety of things, which are peculiar to particular districts or counties, for general use, and the returning them other conveniencies in exchange, by means of small boats, which are very numerous upon the larger branches of these canals. They are also, by this plan, furnished with a considerable quantity of fish, there being few villages which have not water either constantly running through them, or their land, or preserved in canals, compared to those that have. They have engines with which they water their grounds from these streams or canals, in dry seasons.

I asked Mr. Powell, if machinery was in general use in the country.

He said, "we have all the machinery necessary for the carding of wool, attached to our water-

mills, to which people go and have their wool prepared in their turns. To most of the work done at the mills, such as preparing wool, fulling cloth, grinding corn, &c. people generally go in parties, and continue till their little business is done, under the direction of some of the party who understand the work in hand. In all work where water-mills or steam engines are used, and where it is required that it should be continued a greater length of time than the regular hours of labour, they work the hours necessary, and have longer intervals for rest, &c. so as not to work more on the average than the usual time. In some few cases the greater part of whole villages are only of one business, besides their agriculture, receiving almost every thing else from their neighbours and others, and returning their own productions in exchange. We have also all the machinery that is wanted for the various works in metals. We have wind-mills applied to many purposes, as well as that of grinding corn. Our steam engines are chiefly in the places where we get coal and iron ore, and are principally employed in manufacturing this metal into a malleable state, and into a variety of the larger kinds of useful implements. We have almost every useful machine which can be applied in domestic manufacture, from that for spinning, to the smallest that is employed upon the movements of watches. And what renders all this machinery really and highly valuable is, that under *our* laws and institutions it increases the comforts of all, without adding to the labour of

any. With us, genius may pursue invention without the dread of its ultimately proving injurious to any one. We observe with pain and pity, that in other countries it only leads to distress, by overstocking the markets, and thus throwing the workmen out of employment, and consequently out of independant and comfortable subsistence, for the time."

"It appears to me, that, to all the old and fully populated countries, in the usual states of society, the generality of machinery is an evil, and it would have been better for them, had the principal part of it never been invented, but being once introduced into general use and knowledge, it becomes, to them, a necessary evil, which they must continue in order to retain what they can of their trade and commerce from the rivalry of other nations."

Marriage becoming now the subject of conversation, I shall mention some of their regulations respecting it, as I understood them at the time. In the villages which form a division, the couple next upon the list of rotation, or seniority, are entitled to the first vacant house and portion of land, which a man generally holds all his life; but is at liberty, if the portion of his father becomes vacant, and he is the child entitled to it, to occupy it, vacating, however, his possession in hand, in favour of the next upon the list. Where the man and woman are of different divisions, the man's right

of succession determines for the female. Where there is but one son, and no other children, he has the right of succession to his father's portion; if but one daughter, and no other children, she has the same right, if her husband and she prefer it. Where there are several children, it is generally matter of agreement: but should a dispute arise, the law gives it to the child who has lived longest upon the premises. In these cases, the parties must make up their minds, and take possession, within a month after they are informed of their parents' decease; or the portion is appropriated, and cannot be recovered but by private agreement between the parties. Where children are left without father and mother, they are either taken under the care of their relations, who may have room for them; or some female who does not intend to marry, or is otherwise at liberty, undertakes the direction of their domestic concerns, and their portion is cultivated by their neighbours and others. On the condition of protecting a proper number of orphans, those of either sex, who do not marry, can claim their portion at the time of their seniority. Those who refuse this duty, have a certain part of a portion assigned them, that is, several live together; but this is very uncommon. A portion is considered as occupied, where a certain number of orphans are left; and in the case of any number, till they are provided for. Where but one or two are left, they are generally taken by their relations, or adopted by others. Adoption is very common among the New Britons, where every one is consi-

dered with the affectionate feelings of a general relationship; and all are inspired by one common interest.

There are here, no pretended attachments while the soul is a stranger to love and friendship, for there are here, no fortunes or empty titles to tempt to, or to purchase deceit.

The disgrace attending the breach of chastity, is indelible to men as well as to women, without the least distinction: this disgrace is very rarely incurred, all being educated in the admiration and respect of this virtue. Their determination to maintain chastity, arising from a more reasonable motive, is also more permanent than the enthusiasm of nuns and monks. They say, that had the author of our nature so formed us, that it would be uncertain which of the parties transgressing against this virtue, would bear the burden, that men would not then be so forward in seduction. They hold the man who seduces, to be the basest of cowards, who persuades, knowing he runs no risk of consequences. In this they allude to the laws and customs of other countries.

Here there is no restraint to attachments of esteem and friendship, the soul is in their words and looks. The fervour of youth, in a great degree, continues through life, not being broken off and destroyed, by the heart-chilling pursuits of interest or ambition.

We continued several days at the house of Mr. Powell, whose wife, and the charm which held Sir George, were all his family at home. He has a son, who had preferred marrying, and going to the borders, to waiting his turn in the old country: his son is nearly two years older than his daughter, and had been married upwards of four years.

I requested Mr. Powell to relate the principal outlines of their religious and military establishments and usages, which he kindly complied with.

Their military establishment will be the subject of the following chapter.

CHAP. VIII.

THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT AND REGULATIONS OF THE NEW BRITONS.

MR. POWELL commenced by saying, "in the first ages, men lived in common, upon the spontaneous productions of nature. The Creator of all, made them with desires for which his bounteous laws of nature provided, till reason and observation enabled them to assist in supplying themselves. By degrees, the advantages of cultivation were discovered, and land became appropriated, and with appropriation, the notions of property. Population became crowded, men arose, for whom there was no land left in their native places: thus began servitude, dissensions, and trouble. Those in possession, found it to their advantage to elect a head, with power to decide, or punish in all cases, whose interest, accorded with their own. This power was well supported in its first stages, to give it effect, and its necessity first, and then its right were strongly inculcated on all, till in a few generations, having no books, nor records to correct them, and by some deceiving for their own interests,

their descendants, with the general mass, became victims to error, and the doctrine of divine right arose: a doctrine as impious as ridiculous, accusing the Deity of appointing one man to tyrannize over the lives and property of millions of his equals."

"Thus it was, that nations became the property of kings, and the people, as the cattle of the land: in some countries, they are now removed a considerable distance from this degradation, but not a greater than they still remain from that state of society which reason points out, as most conducive to general happiness."

"I have been led into this train of reflection," Mr. Powell said, "by recollections from my reading of European and Asiatic history. I also observe that the people of those nations are, in all times of difficulty, urged to make great sacrifices to maintain the honours of their forefathers, and to hand them down unimpaired to their posterity. I am surprised to find that these honours are not as they should be, the common possession of the people, or of the efficient party exerting themselves; but, that all the exertions of the many contribute to heap them on a favoured few. Is it not enough that such men take to themselves the largest share of property and power, but that they must also assume all the honour for their injustice?"

"It has ever appeared to us, that such a state

of things could not be maintained but with a large establishment of military, distinct from the people; who are, too often, disposed to support any order of things, for which they are paid: thus the system which makes heavy taxes necessary, becomes itself necessary to support them. We have no taxes, not a soldier in pay, yet we now do not care how soon our existence and situation is made known to the rest of the world: our people, by their numbers and skill, and still more by their devotedness to the cause of their country, would greatly overmatch any army, which our own continent, or that of Europe could bring against us. I am not boasting, but merely stating facts. We have more than three millions of houses in New Britain, and more than this number of efficient soldiers, as the young and the vigorous, who are not housekeepers, are always estimated at more than those who are rendered unable by age, and others, who being dead, left have their houses occupied by their widows, and every able man is a soldier."

"You will possibly be surprised at the population we have attained to, but the number I have given is below the fact, as I wished to speak only of round numbers. You will be more surprised when I tell you that, it is not yet quite three centuries since we commenced as a people, with no more than 743 adult males, 739 adult females, and 673 youths and children."

Sir George said, "such an increase will surprise

Europeans: it far exceeds that of the Israelites in Egypt. I would gladly know the rate of increase, if it has been ascertained and preserved, that if ever I return to my native land, I may be able to demonstrate the probability of so remarkable a fact."

The mention made by Sir George of possibly returning to his own country, brought the colour into the face of Miss Powell, which was as quickly succeeded by a proportionate want of it. She appeared conscious that her countenance was declaring too much, and immediately left the room.

Mr. Powell proceeded, "the children of Israel were oppressed, were slaves in Egypt: we, a free people, to whom increase was strength, and therefore very desirable, and encouraged to the utmost. The increase in the first twenty years was truly astonishing, almost every family having from six to twelve children, and several more: the average was above eight for each family. The average increase of our population has been to double itself in from twenty-one to twenty-four years. The average time was even less than twenty-one years, during the first hundred and forty years, but has been gradually increasing, and is now about twenty-four years. We account for this, by our country becoming more extensive, as they increase as fast as ever on the borders, where the youth can marry as soon as they come of age, and go to form

new villages, without being removed far from their parents and relations; but in the parts of the country, distant from the confines (which are augmenting every year,) many of our people choose rather to wait their turn on the marriage list, than to leave their immediate friends and relations, and their native place. We know that, as our country is enlarged, the rate of increase will become slower, and that when bounded, it will become stationary. We have provided for the state in which we cannot extend our boundaries any further, by our laws of marriage, which have been before detailed to you: then all will alike be obliged to wait their rotation, and all will be later, for there can then be no removals to new villages on the borders, which has hitherto made the time of marriage, in the interior, much earlier than it otherwise could be."

"I will, now I am digressing from the subject, I began to relate, mention two other causes which have added to our population, and also to our security. We have had a few wanderers, who liking our laws and institutions, have settled with, and become a part of us; and we have also had some Indians who, becoming confident and familiar, from our uniformly kind treatment of them, have embraced our way of life, and are now so intermixed with us, that their descendants are but in very few instances distinguishable, and some of our people have also taken wives from among the Indians. In almost all cases, these children of

liberty and nature, have been exemplary in their conduct. After fully understanding the superior comforts of agricultural life, they have preferred it to their own, more precarious and more laborious subsistence by hunting. These alliances were of essential service to us; as through them we explained our views to the Indians, and thus procured lasting peace, and also a ready intercourse, when we wanted to purchase more of the country around us. We have purchased of them to a considerable distance on every side of what we now occupy, and they are so friendly and so regardful of their agreements, that when any of them consider there is much game in our unappropriated territory, which is neglected, they send two or three of their aged men to ask permission to hunt it. In national or general policy, to preserve themselves against the encroachments of what are called *civilized* enemies, they are deficient; but as men, they are far before those pretenders to civilization, in many things important to happiness, beside their contempt of wealth, and the slavish habits which produce it. They are as resolute friends, and defenders of what they think right and honourable, as men can be; and when equal justice is explained to them, they are not induced to act against conviction by interested views."

"But to return to the explanation of our military regulations. Every man, from the age of seventeen, till unable from age or infirmity, is a soldier. Every Tuesday and Friday, are days of

exercise, the time from two till four in the afternoon: our time is exact, all are upon the ground at two. In division musters, which are on the first Tuesday of every month, the public ground of each village is alternately the place of muster, to divide the conveniences and inconveniences equally among all; as the distant as well as those at home must be on the ground at two. In county musters, which are four times a year, the divisions have their turns in the same way: these are field-days, and the manœuvres occupy the principal part of the day. They are considered a sort of holiday, mixing duty with pleasure, as on these occasions friends meet, and eat the temperate fare, which they bring with them, upon the turf together. We have also district field-days once a year, for which the time of hard frost is mostly chosen, as we have then sham fights, and the opposing parties frequently move over a large tract of country in their manœuvres to intercept each other, or to gain advantage of position; and as when the ground is frozen, treading does no injury to the crops: the only mischief that is done, being to cut passages through the fences in a few places, which is soon repaired. The mustering at this time of the year, also tends to preserve hardihood among us, for it is always for three days, the parties taking up opposing situations, and lying at night upon the floors of the lower rooms, and in the barns of all the adjoining villages, having out centinels and piquets, to prevent surprise by night, which is frequently attempted, and honour or disgrace is conferred according

to the skill, or mismanagement of the parties and their leaders."

"The practice of having sham fights, as much as we possibly can like real ones, is useful to those who are elected leaders, giving them a degree of experience, and it enables others, by observing the degrees of skill in different men, to apportion, pretty exactly, the situations they are most fitted for."

"Every man, of proper age and health, provides himself, or is provided, with an uniform, a musket, and bayonet, if a battalion soldier; if a rifleman, with a rifle, and bayonet, and a sword; and if a horseman, with all the usual articles, as pistols, carbine, and broad sword, and with horse and furniture."

"Each village provides from two to eight horsemen, and their horses, in proportion to their number of houses, which produces about fifty thousand of this description of force throughout the whole nation. But as we think riflemen a much more efficient force in a close country like ours, which is intersected by hedges, canals, or rivulets, at almost every hundred paces, one third of all our force is of this description."

"The horses are kept in the common pasture of each village, and a village stable is provided for them: each soldier takes care of his own horse."

"This immense number of soldiers, no doubt, appears to you far more than is required for the defence of the country. It is so. But we have in this plan another no less important end in view, which is, the preventing a partial diffusion of the knowledge of military duties, from becoming the possible means of tyranny: all having nearly equal skill in the art, is an effectual check upon, and prevention of this. It may also be proper to observe, that so far from requiring oppressive taxes to support them, like the practice in Europe, and most parts of the political world, they support themselves, and they also prevent any person or party from attempting their imposition, by at once overawing any designs of this kind, which can possibly arise, and by preventing the necessity of them. We may all be said to play at soldiers, but we play with an important motive, no less than that of the preservation of freedom against internal and external attack."

"We have likewise seven regiments of artillery with their appropriate cannon, carriages for ammunition, and other requisites. Each district supplies one of these: they are small, in proportion to our other means of defence, being like the cavalry, not peculiarly applicable to the nature and cultivation of our country; and we shall not use them elsewhere. Yet we have provided them, and we consider they are at least of this service, that, by accustoming us to the use of cannon, it may prevent alarm or panic, should we observe them in

the means of attack of an enemy, which might be otherwise, were we perfectly unacquainted with them, and their power of distant annoyance."

"The management of war is with the chief president, and the district presidents, as his council. In time of war no one can hold military command, and be at the same time a president; as all their attention would be then required to forward supplies, and to other important duties: this rule applies to all presidents, from the chief president, to those of divisions, inclusive. The chief president, and his council, can suspend or remove any general, if they judge him inefficient or negligent; can add to, or diminish the force of any general, and can order them to any part of the country as they may think best for its defence."

"We have generals for districts, lieutenant generals for counties, colonels for divisions and captains and subordinate officers for villages, equal to all the duties of discipline. Every officer, from the general to the sergeant hath always his successor nominated or elected, ready to provide for all accidents or emergencies; should both fall, whatever their rank, the next in command takes the vacant post. All officers are appointed annually. The magistrate of the village appoints the captain of the village company, the president of division, the colonel; the county president, the lieutenant-general; the district president, the general of the district; the chief president, the general-in-chief;

and the chief president's approval, is required to the nomination of the generals of districts, and the lieutenant-generals. Each company elects its own lieutenants, serjeants, and corporals; and every commanding officer selects his own staff, subject to the approbation of the president and his council. In all cases, either of war or peace, whether respecting the country at large, or the districts, the counties, the divisions, or the villages, the civil power is superior to, and commands the military."

"In all military affairs, the duty of obedience to command is made imperative: the duty of obedience to the civil authorities, is also equally positive and binding upon the military commanders."

"To avoid any delay which might arise from want of union in the chief president, and the district presidents, any affair acquiring their decision, is proposed by the president, or any of the district presidents, and if not immediately approved, the district presidents explain their views of it, and if needful, they come to a division, and decide by the majority, to which, if the chief president adds his assent, the rule or order is final; if he dissents, the proposal is rejected: but should the district presidents agree, in approving or rejecting a measure, and the chief president disagree with them, he has power to act upon his own decision, and is only responsible to the whole people, who may

pass a vote of censure or punishment upon him by the same means by which they placed him in his situation. But a mere difference of opinion on any case of emergency, would be considered and treated with the greatest lenity."

"In time of war, or in any other case of emergency requiring the attendance of the district president in council, they have substitutes in their successors, who manage the affairs of the districts during their absence; this rule also applies to all inferior stations in the country, when circumstances render absence necessary."

"We have no need to give too much power to our executive government in time of war, nor at any time any power, for the use of which they are not responsible, for what are called national purposes; for we have less national prejudice than you may suppose possible in a people. We love our country much, and are proud of our constitution and establishments, but our love and pride prevents our allowing any disgrace to come upon the former, by unjustly injuring in any way the people of other nations, or even by neglecting the promotion of their happiness to the utmost of our power."

"The spirit of our constitution and laws, as well as the reasons last mentioned, will not permit us to be aggressors in war: our law is, 'defensive war alone is just.' We carry this principle to the defence of all, with whom we are in alliance, and

who embrace it. We are in alliance on this principle, with several Indian nations, but though we enter their several countries to assist them in defending themselves, we never act offensively for them, and they never expect it, as they know we will not, even for ourselves. You must understand that we never go even to the defence of those, if they have been the first aggressors and promoters of the war, this is our agreement with all, and it has been productive of peaceable and just conduct among them."

"On an alarm of invasion, (which has not happened for a century past,) signals are immediately made in all the ways suitable to the time and places, while young men are dispatched in all directions with the account, who are succeeded in every station by others, so that in a short time, a large district is informed of the danger. When the danger is urgent and alarming, all immediately arm, and march rapidly upon the point of danger, the officers of different ranks taking command as they arrive. Each man takes with him nine or ten days provision, in one shape or other, which either serves, till the affair is ended, or till the needful supplies are sent after them from their respective divisions or counties. The principal duty of the presidents of divisions and officers on the spot, on these occasions is, to ascertain the extent of the danger as nearly as possible, that they may not alarm or raise more of the country than is required, for this reason the alarm is given

by understood signals, for the raising of the division, the county, the district, or the whole country, and the messengers also take the message for the arming of the division, the county, and so on, as the case appears to require."

"To avoid irksomeness, the whole of the different military duties may be interchanged after the parties have served three years in the one they are engaged in, at the option or agreement of the individuals. This renders the whole more effective, most men being able to act in different kinds of service, should occasion require."

"Many years ago, our youth were frequently exercised in watching the frontiers, when there was any probability of danger, either to the public from a regular attack, or to individuals from small parties of marauders."

"Permit me," Mr. Powell said, "to conclude the account of our military policy and method of defence, with remarking: that were defensive war alone, admitted into the law of nations, which most assuredly is the only just war which can be maintained, beside causing universal peace, it would go very far towards producing universal liberty, as the freedom of man would not be endangered by standing armies: there would then be no pretence for them."

CHAP. IX.

THE RELIGIOUS OPINIONS AND USAGES OF THE NEW BRITONS.

ON the third day of our residence with Mr. Powell, three of the inhabitants of the village came in immediately after we had dined. Religion having been casually mentioned, Sir George said, "I have remarked with surprise, and not without concern, that there are no churches or chapels in this country, which is certainly a remarkable deficiency in a people otherwise, so exemplary."

Mr. Holmes, one of the villagers, said, "we believe, as all men must, according to the impression which facts, with our reasoning upon them, make upon our minds. Our actions and customs are the result of our conviction of the truth. It is the wish of every good mind, having made its election from principle, of what it judges the best way, that every one should be equally right, yet, the body of Christians at large, and others in this company with myself, are fully persuaded that there are deists as sincere and liberal as ourselves,

and who follow as we do, truth, to the best of their knowledge. We cannot help thinking them in error, as they do us; the thinking himself right, is necessary to the justification of the opinion of every man, and neither they nor we should esteem, or approve of any one who should conform to either opinion, except from sincere conviction of its truth. It would be of no use to make resolutions to believe, we cannot believe many things, even though we should wish it: we can only believe as we are convinced."

Sir George expressed his surprise, that a people whose ancestors must have left England at a time when religious and literary information were in the possession of but a small number, should be actuated by such liberal principles.

Mr. Holmes requested Mr. Beckitt to satisfy Sir George, as he had recently read the early part of their history.

Mr. Beckitt assented, and began by observing, "for several mornings lately, while I was weaving, (he being a weaver), I have been endeavouring in vain, to account for that strange prejudice, which most certainly exists, either in myself or others, and prevents men from all thinking alike, though with the same facts before them: yet, if in our country, where truth is set before all, as the best and noblest pursuit, we fail in obtaining uniformity of opinion, I cannot be so much surprised that it

should not prevail in places where men, from interest or fear, draw a veil before the rays of truth which they have elicited."

"In reading to satisfy myself on this subject, I examined the particulars of the causes of our first founders leaving England, and will relate the impression the account has made upon me, as to the probable causes of the freedom of opinion which gives you surprise."

"Our ancestors left England soon after Henry the Eighth wrote in favour of the Romish church. Encouraged by which, some of the priests, with all the rage of bigotry, endeavoured to extirpate religious freedom, by the most unjust and harassing prosecutions: this naturally produced detestation of oppression and intolerance. From this their opinions took a turn, which may be thought to border on the other extreme. As the stately tree, when forcibly bent from the position which nature gave it, springs, when released, beyond its proper state, and is awhile agitated with violent vibrations: so the mind of man, bent below its proper sphere of free thought and expression, on being freed, passes the upright line of justice and truth in its first recoil, and only regains it after many oscillations. Whether we have yet gained a proper state in religion, I leave to you and to all liberal minds to decide. I shall state facts only, to which I shall only add, that however much you may

think we err, you will do us injustice, if you do not allow us sincerity."

"We are all, either Christians, taking the gospels as our rule of life, or Deists, who believe, in a future state, where oppressed virtue shall be happy, and meet its reward, and where secret or strong-handed injustice shall not escape detection and punishment. Which is the most numerous class, I have not the means of deciding, but am inclined to think the Christians are, as almost all who doubt on the important subject of the best means of securing a happy futurity, become Christians; for, even the Deist admits that the simple observance, from sincerity of conviction, of the duties of Christianity, can be no impediment to future happiness, but the sincere Christian cannot but fear there is sin in the rejection of that which he thinks to be the right and the best rule of conduct in life: thus, all think the virtuous and good Christian safe, but only the Deists think the Deist so. My opinion, as a Christian is, that the upright Christian is certainly right, and that the virtuous and sincere Deist most probably is not wrong."

"From what I have already said, you will no doubt conclude, that we have perfect freedom in religious matters; the conclusion is right: I shall now relate those peculiar opinions which have given rise to customs which you seem to think

singular. We, the Christian part of the community, diffuse the bible at pleasure, and in conversation speak in favour or in defence of it, but we have no preachers, no expounders of the text, for we think that a book which God is the Author of, cannot need the elucidation of man; to attempt it is an indirect satire upon it; it is saying the Divine Author has not made Himself sufficiently understood: a conduct we avoid as practical impiety. In a contrary practice we should dread arguments like this, he is an indifferent author who cannot make himself understood; if the author of the bible cannot make himself understood, he is an indifferent author; and as God does nothing indifferently or imperfectly, he cannot be the author. What God intended, he can perform. What God intended to be understood, he has through all His works made plain and easy to the researches of man; and what he intended should not be developed by man, it is in vain for man to attempt. The ox understandeth not the growing of the grass he eats, yet the intention of God towards him is not the less perfectly accomplished: man knoweth not fully his nature and destination, yet the Creator and Supporter of all shall no less certainly bring him to his intended state of perfection."

"We consider the historical parts of the scriptures, as merely the vehicle of the moral and obligatory; its mysteries as the darkness of Asiatic expression and manner of relation, most of which

are only mysterious from having become obsolete. We follow simply its rule of life, without publicly discoursing upon it, and without distorting it. We read it for ourselves, and consider it obligatory to every man, as he understands it. We think that disputes and obstinate arguments respecting the construction of the text, lead directly to infidelity, at least in practice; as men are apt to think that cannot be a strong bond of obligation which it is difficult to construe aright, and which does not carry with it uniform conviction: we therefore, from the love of pure Christianity, have no churches or other places for particular forms of worship; and as we have no preachers of polemical divinity, so, we have no books on the subject."

"Our object as Christians by this is, not to confine men to one opinion, but that every one may be perfectly free to follow his own, and to prevent that unfavourable impression respecting the clearness of the scriptures, which must ever arise where several expounders shall, uncontradicted, give many different constructions to the same passage. In furtherance of the freedom of investigation, any man who has, or who thinks he has, struck out any truth, or has a clearer solution of any supposed difficulty to offer, can call a meeting of all who like to attend, either at his own house, or in the village-hall; and the only difference of this from the practice of preaching in other countries is, that those who may happen to differ in opinion with him, are at liberty to

reply, and thus endeavour to clear up the truth, and prevent error from going abroad."

Sir George said, "churches, from the labour and expence required in building them, are a mark of sincerity in devotion."

Mr. Beckitt replied, "in many cases they are only proofs of vanity and ostentation, and not unfrequently of slavish bigotry, as the histories of countries where they most abound fully demonstrate."

"It is the prevailing opinion with us, that religion considered abstractedly, is entirely between a man and his Creator, and that man with man has no right to interfere. The vanity which some sectarists indulge in, of saying they do this or that for the honour of God, is ridiculous, if not, impious; can any man seriously think his little efforts, or his adopting any particular mode of worship, can do honour to that Great Being, to whom he and all his race are indebted for all they enjoy and know, and for their very existence?"

"Four times a year the Christians and the Deists meet together in the open air, to adore, to give thanks to, and to rejoice before the Great Author of all. The close of the day is the time chosen for meeting, as reminding man of the closing of his day of existence here, and when the light of our world retires, and permits the

view of innumerable other worlds, and systems of worlds, it leads the reflecting mind to think, that when this life closes, it is but to enter the career of others without end, now only faintly glimmering, like specks of light through the obscurity of distance and the ignorance which surrounds us. We think this world, decorated with the view of millions of others, the only fit temple for so Great a Being, and the only one which contains matter for ideas corresponding to the solemnity requisite to his public adoration."

"We believe in a general all comprehending providence of God, through the medium of his laws of nature, as being consistent with his greatness and beneficence, but not in a particular one interposing partially. We cannot think that the Almighty interferes any more in cases that appear singular escapes, than in those which appear singularly unfortunate. We see, that all natural evil is incident alike, to the good and to the bad, which adds a reasonable argument to our religious persuasion, that this life is only a state of probation: the mere vestibule of existence."

After some more desultory conversation, Sir George observed, "with us the Christian belief is, that reason is not able to remove the horrors of a guilty conscience, or to mitigate the pungent miseries of remorse."

Mr. Beckitt replied, "neither ought it to be.

In this, reason is better than those religious creeds which admit of, and persuade the ignorant and unthinking, that to believe in certain things, or rather opinions, or to practice certain forms and ceremonies, will get us cleansed from all sin, which my reading informs me is very prevalent in some parts of the world: how miserable must be the morality of such people! We think, the only effectual repentance is, an amended life, and to repair as much as we possibly can, by virtuous conduct during the remainder of it, the wrongs and errors we have committed."

"We perceive, from history, that errors, or differences in opinion, have mostly been treated as crimes rather than misfortunes, which we consider ridiculous and unjust; ridiculous, for expecting that all men should form the same conclusions on matters of opinion, and because the man whom we condemn, has as much reason to expect our acquiescence, in what he judges right, as we have to demand his; and unjust, because every man must believe respecting any thing, according to the impression it makes upon his mind. In this country, the ground upon which a man builds his opinions is, if he requests it, examined by all his friends, and the most intelligent men around; without such request, he is left in the uninterrupted enjoyment of his opinions. When any one wishes for a public examination, he generally posts up a few notices, in the libraries of the village where he resides, and in the adjoining ones, containing the

subject upon which he differs in opinion, and requesting a day to be appointed for the discussion in a few weeks that thus all may come prepared. Thus the correctness or error of his opinions is endeavoured to be proved, if in error he is generally convinced, and brought to more correct ideas on the subject; aud if right, he generally makes converts of his hearers: it being the first article in the religious creeds of both our Christians and Deists, '*In the search for truth, be open to conviction.*' Some more confident in their opinions, publish them at once, but this is not thought so modest as publishing them after they have received the sanction of an assembly. When an assembly of this kind is convinced that the person calling it, has made a discovery of, or drawn down a clearer light upon any truth, they have it published, in his name, with all convenient dispatch, to all the counties, divisions, &c. that every one may as soon as possible, receive the benefit and pleasure of it. Friendly conversation and discussion upon all interesting subjects is encouraged to the utmost."

"I have thus, in the best way I am able, given you a description of the usages and opinions of the Christian part of our country: which are all founded on this, that Christ was sent into the world, to discover by his preaching, a rule of life for man, which he further explained and enforced by his practice; and that it is our duty to follow his rules, simply, without comment, and without disputation,

as the means to obtain happiness in that immortality which he revealed."

"I beg leave to refer you to my friend, Mr. Butler, for an explanation of the foundation of the Deists' belief in immortality, and also for some of the natural reasons for the existence of God, the necessary foundation of immortality."

Mr. Butler, the other villager, said, "having adopted my opinions, after the most serious and attentive examination, I will, now I am called upon, do my best to explain the natural evidences of the immortality of the thinking principle in man, the true ground of Deism. Whether I succeed in convincing you or not, permit me to observe, that the confidence of a future state is in me entire. Though I may be unable to explain the impressions which the evidences make upon me, it is only because my ability is unequal to the task imposed upon me, not that these are imperfect. I should be glad if Mr. Powell would take this duty off me, as he would do more ample justice to it: and I think that no subject more requires the best, the utmost efforts of all, than the natural evidence of man's immortality; as upon it the Deist rests every hope of all that is worth hoping for, and the Christian cannot but be gratified by additional proofs of future existence."

Mr. Powell politely declined, and Mr. Butler finding the task must be his, requested that it

might be postponed till the next day, as it then was near the usual time of rest. This was agreed to, as also, that the same party should meet the following afternoon. Our three friends soon retired, and we afterwards passed a very pleasant hour with Mr. Powell and his family.

Next day, after the business of the morning was done, and we had taken our early dinner, the three inhabitants of the village came in, punctually to the time appointed. Mr. Butler proceeded soon after, to give his reasons, drawn from the observation of nature, for the being of a God, and for the immortality of the human soul.

I am afraid, though I wrote most of this account during part of the night, and finished it the next morning, that my memory has not done justice to Mr. Butler's ideas on these important subjects. I feel the more anxious on this head, as I have long been of opinion that the increase of natural evidence for the two most important matters that come under the contemplation of man, the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul, is, the greatest and most permanent benefit which can be conferred on mankind.

Mr. Butler observed, "truth should be the primary object of man's research, it is the justice of the mental world, and when by studying the great book of nature, he has attained only its proper rudiments, he will be no longer superstitious, ava-

ricious, or ambitious: he will no longer be the victim or the tool of a partial or a crooked system of education, or of corrupt principles. He will then believe that the great duty of life is justice, which includes doing good, and avoiding to do evil. He will be convinced, that benevolence is a virtue which can rarely belong to man, that justice, in almost every case, would supersede it."

"The simple means which the Deity, by the medium of the laws of nature, employs to raise from earth a blade of grass, or an ear of corn, is incomparably more grand in its effect, than all the labours of the laboratory. How inexplicable to all the researches of man! Chymists destroy the productions of nature in their analysises, and give us the result, but they cannot re-compose, they cannot re-produce them. Can man view the simple appearance of the acorn, or any other seed, and consider them as endued with chymical powers of extracting from earth, water and air, by means of solar heat and light, the stately tree, laden with fruit, or the beautiful shrub, adorned with flowers, then exalt his mind from their powers, to the Intelligence who gave them and ordained their laws, and afterward say, there is no God? If there are such men, I confess I have no idea of their reasoning, except they can prove that originally seeds had the power making of themselves."

"But let us examine this subject with respect to man, the only reasoning being with whom we

have any communication, and undoubtedly the highest in degree upon this earth; if we can prove that he has no pretensions to self-production, we need not examine the inferior animals; but may conclude that man and all, are indebted to a Superior Power for their first parents' existence, and to his laws for the continuance of the species."

"It would be an insult to you whom I now address, to suppose you can have an idea that man was ever able to create himself; we all feel we have not, nor ever could have any such power; this truth is self-evident, and reasoning upon it would be superfluous: so far from man having produced himself, he cannot even continue the production, but falls helpless before the laws of his nature, over which he has no controul."

"If man and other animals were originally the production of a fortuitous concourse of atoms, as some of your European writers have argued, why are we not through all the ages of history, indulged with a single instance of such a commencement of man or beast? Have atoms lost their primitive power, or has their nature altered? Had man at first sprung up by his own effort, or that of inanimate nature, independant of the creative power of the Deity, he would continue to do so: we cannot form an idea of unintelligent inanimation forming man, which must have been the case, supposing him originally made fortuitously: yet unintelligent and inanimate all on earth must have been before

the commencement of man and other animals, and must for ever have continued so, if not endued with life and thought by superior and infinite intelligence and power."

"Man, as it respects this life, we know certainly, has a beginning and an end; every generation succeeds the preceding one, only to be succeeded by others; all beings thus limited, and not possessing the power of self-production, must, however distant the time, owe their existence, as it respects the laws of generation, to a first pair, or more; these first being like their descendants, were no more able to produce themselves, than the earth on which we tread is able to form itself into man: thus then, the first parents of all, not having the power of self-creation, must owe their origin to a Superior Intelligence and Power, WHO IS GOD! It is easy to suppose a time when men did not exist, or a time of Chaos, but it is impossible to suppose a time when no Superior Intelligent Being existed, because it is impossible to conceive the commencement of order, and of intelligent beings, like man, without such an author."

"I firmly believe in a Self-existent Being, an Eternal Intelligence, of whose wisdom, beneficence and power, all the ideas of man fall infinitely short; that by his power, the first parents of men were created, and also the laws of their nature implanted in them, that they might continue and

increase their kind, without the necessity of his immediate and continued interposition; a perfection known only in his works: all animals and plants also, owe their beginning, and the laws by which they are continued, to his wisdom and power. There probably never was an Atheist on conviction; a few have been so, or have rather doubted from ignorance, and many vicious characters have wished there to be no God."

"There are people who consider, that they are not bound to acknowledge the universal government of God, not that they can prove any deficiency of evidence of it, but because he has not made his plan of government to be understood in all its relations in the present state; they are dissatisfied at not knowing all, but they should reflect that it is most probable, if we had more knowledge, including that of the future, (the awful and important nature of futurity to us,) and the still more awful nature of God, would preclude the possibility of this life being a state of probation, for such knowledge might overawe disobedience: God may have judged the uncertainty which pervades all human reasoning requisite to the making this life a perfectly probationary state."

"The existence of the Deity being the firm belief of man, the subject of equal importance to him, is, whether he has a future and eternal life: if he has not, even in his happiest state, so brief a peep at existence is scarcely worth the having;

and the only consolation which is left him, is, the dismal one, that even God himself has but a very limited power over him, who so soon falls into utter insensibility: and if he has, which I cannot doubt, it is his duty to use the reason which God hath given him, to discover that rule of life which is most suitable to the intentions of his Maker: which is true religion."

"I shall first endeavour to explain what we believe to be the simple and universal religion of nature, as it is undoubtedly binding on, important to, and the best interest of all men, while it is, as it for ever must be, *impossible to prove that man is not immortal.* Afterwards I will state those of the natural and reasonable proofs of man's immortality, which strike my recollection, that are most peculiar to this country, and which may be original to you; as I doubt not you are fully acquainted with all the general arguments upon the subject."

"Were I going to explain in some countries, what we Deists think to be true religion, I should premise thus:—if, in what I am going to say, I am in error, or if you think me so, justice and humanity cry aloud, do not censure, or in any other way punish, but prove my error, and thus convince a mistaken fellow-creature, who is open to conviction. If, as you assert, you have truth on your side, you, in possession of so much learning and ability, need not fear to enter the lists with any man, or all men; for very moderate abilities, assist-

en by truth, will overturn all the sophistry of all the talent in the universe, that comes in opposition to it. Those who even have truth on their side, yet wish to put down opposition or difference of opinion, by persecution and violence, declare, in terms not to be mistaken, that they at least do not know the evidences of that truth, or they would, if in the least tinctured with humanity, prefer convincing the children of error, to punishing them. You cannot suppose me insincere, and thus wantonly to dare the displeasure of my friends, and what is infinitely more important, that of my God, who cannot be deceived. If I am wrong, it is sufficient to leave me to the judgment of God, and impious to take the case out of his hands; he alone knoweth the nature and extent of my errors, the secret motives of my soul, and the impressions it has received, from which alone I can believe: belief may be altered by the light of truth, displayed by reason, but never can be changed by violence."

"We think that religion true and just, which has existed, and does exist, alike, in every age of every country, and is consistent with the equal justice of the Deity: it is conscience, or the judgment of just and unjust, right and wrong, according to the reasoning powers of man, fully used and honestly attended to. This great principle of universal religion has been shamefully neglected, hidden, abused, and kept under, by interested and weak superstitions. It is true, that all

men cannot reason alike, but we do not expect from a child the moral reasoning of the man, and consequently not the duties of a man. Conscience is the only principle which applies the justice of the Omniscient and just God to every age, place, degree of knowledge, and to all the circumstances of mankind. It even finds some excuse for the infatuated atrocities of superstition; and pities more than it condemns, those whose prejudices of education and religious instruction have made them not dare to listen to its dictates. Though on these and other accounts, there are many who pay it but little attention, yet it is some check upon the worst of men, and where the duty of attending to its dictates is properly inculcated, and they have the natural and proper weight which unbiassed reason gives them, it leads to all the good to man, that all other religions pretend to inculcate. Conscience honestly consulted, draws the truest line between virtue and vice."

I observed, that he had made severer animadversions upon other religions, than our Christian friends had upon Deism, which they had spoken of with respect.

He replied, "you will excuse me, for recollecting I was speaking to some who, in their own country, never hear Deism mentioned, but as something approaching to Atheism, or the same thing, I wished to shew that true Deists have all the reasons for good moral conduct, from its rela-

tion to futurity, which can possibly influence men of any persuasion: being fully confident of the existence of God, the immortality of the soul becomes a matter of course; were it otherwise, we should have a root supporting nothing, a God doing nothing, or something not worth doing. The Deist has far stronger reasons for immortality than any unsupported assertions of a religious sect can possibly give. To Christians, like the generality of ours, what I have said does not apply; they believe that a sincere and virtuous Deist will be saved, and we believe that all the good of every possible sect, or opinion, will be happy in futurity."

"Your remark has caused me to digress from my intention of giving you our natural proofs of the immortality of the soul, and before I return to my subject, I will give you one or two reasons why Deists ought to be allowed to acknowledge their opinions, when called upon, without being sufferers for their belief. We do not encourage them on any account to avow, uncalled upon, their creed; such conduct might tend to injury, by taking away the confidence of hope in some minds, the staff on which they rest, without giving them an equivalent, supported like what they may lose; for we can only reason, we never assert; and some are much happier in confidence, though possibly in error, than they would be even in being right, with inquietude and doubt."

"A sincere Deist cannot suppose himself in error, but supposing him to be so, why, before he is convinced how he errs, should he be expected to forego his principles, and thus become a hypocrite? If Deism be error, to add hypocrisy must increase the evil. In our country, Christians and Deists all agree, that insincerity is a real crime, but simple unintentional error, only a misfortune."

"Having confidence in the justice of God, we firmly believe that he has left the door of salvation open to the good and just of all opinions, how otherwise can his justice be extended to the numerous millions of people who have never heard of the modes of faith which divide Europe, Asia, and part of America; how to the many generations throughout the world, whose existence on earth, expired before the birth of these dispensations? We dare not think that God is unjust, therefore, we dare not think there is the least advantage given to one man above another, including all the circumstances of each case, the means, with what is required, in the most important of all things, the acquiring of his approbation. We believe that God judges of the virtues of all men, by a scale which he applies so, to all degrees of mind, and peculiarities of circumstances, that all set out equally, that goodness is the mean of success, that the degree required, is duly apportioned to each individual, with reference to his moral situation, and that it is so ordered, that all are equal competitors: how glorious to be equal with the first,

where all men of all ages are our rivals; where the circumscribed knowledge which many despise, will, by virtuous endeavours, succeed beyond the first genius and talents, when not assiduously employed in the cause of virtue: the true service of God. God hath made men the touch-stones of virtue to each other; if we serve our fellow-creatures to the utmost of our power, believing, as our reason plainly dictates, he hath placed us together for that purpose, we perform the first duties of religion, obedience to God, which includes love and justice to man."

"Conscience is said to be led away by every prejudice; it may be so, and the knowledge of this possibility should guard us against being prejudiced, and lead us to a severe examination of the justness of the rules of conduct we have adopted. Yet the consciousness of what is right or wrong will in most, if not in all the actions of our lives, if followed in its simple dictates of humanity and justice, go very nearly to make us just and humane. I mean that conscience appealing through reason to natural right and wrong, is not only the most universal rule of conduct, and the most applicable to all degrees of knowledge and ignorance, but also, for these reasons, the best."

"We believe, that God having given us reason, and the laws of nature to guide us, it is wrong to ask any thing more, being convinced that properly used they are all which can be wanted, therefore

we return thanks for his universal and unspeakable goodness, and we consider those as little less than impious, who attempt to trouble God with complaints, or ask his particular interference in their favour. Of what consequence can any individual, or even a nation be, that the Great Author of the universe should alter or suspend his all-wise laws for them? We therefore conclude, that we must use our reason, and be guided by its intimations of justice, and that then we shall attain all that can be of service to happiness in this life, or benefit us in a future state; in a few words, all which God intended for us."

"I shall only advance those natural evidences for the immortality of the soul, which have no reference to the question of its materiality, or immateriality, as the solution of this point is not necessary to immortality. Should this question create much interest in your minds, I can have no objection to discuss it with you at a future time."

"The circumstance of our not being in the least desirous, or aware of our present state of being before we entered it, induces the opinion of immortality. We are, what we are, without any previous wish or knowledge of our own; and may we not reasonably conclude, that with the earnest desire of a future being, and the certain knowledge of its being the only mean by which our present existence can be rendered valuable, that

our Bountiful Creator, who produced us here by his laws, will extend them to us in future states of being? It is not so difficult as the idea, how we first became thinking beings. I firmly believe, that the Beneficent Being, who first surprised us with life and reflection, will resurprise us with more perfect states of being, according with our degrees of virtue and capabilities of mental happiness, though we cannot define the state; but what man ever foresaw his present existence? For future life, we have confidence in that being who introduced us into this; for having given us the present state of existence without our desiring it, it is more than probable, he will give us, or rather has given us, by his laws of our nature, an eternal one, which we desire so much."

"As the body of a man is an infinitely more ingenious contrivance than even the most able anatomists can conceive, so, in every other thing, the works of God equally surpass our conceptions: the more we know, the more we ascertain the deficiences of our knowledge. Can we then think that the soul of man, the greatest of the works of God, known to us, falls short of the conceptions of men, which a soul merely mortal would do; and that men, in general, have conceived a state in this most important of all things, superior to the performance of their Creator? It cannot be! Man must be immortal, for immortal man, is as superior to man merely mortal, as the eternal sun

is to the passing meteor that faintly glimmers for a moment, and is seen no more. A mortal soul in man, would dishonour God in all his attributes, by making his design and work fall short of the ideas of men. I believe we shall find the truth to be, that in our best conceptions, and strongest imaginations of immortality, our thoughts are proportionately below the greatness of its nature, as they are beneath the wonderful designs and performance of our Creator in all inferior things. If then, we consider the comparative importance of this subject to all others, in which we discover our amazing deficiency, and but consider in this a proportionate deficiency of conception, how much beyond the boldest imagination's sublimest flights, must be the reality of immortality in the human soul! Thus we, think, and from these thoughts we act. We think the greatest possible service that a superior mind can render to his fellow men, is, to bring proof of the immortality of the soul from nature, and from reason, which is man's nature: and our conclusion from our reasoning is, we know certainly that the thinking principle exists in man, and that, unless the ideas of man have excelled the work of his Creator, it exists eternally."

"To exist, with the desire of future life, is, a much faster hold on immortality, than not to be, (without the power of self-creation,) could possibly give man on rational existence, without the creative power of an Omnipotent Intelligence; and with

such an Intelligent Power, we are secure of immortality; his wisdom, power, justice, all his attributes are engaged to realize it. If we are born but to perish by annual millions, none ever knowing wherefore they were made, we are the most anomalous beings in existence; we should, in such case, be created with ideas of a nature for ourselves, far surpassing that nature; be a creation possessing thoughts excelling the performance of our Creator in us."

"These," Mr. Butler said, "are the weightiest arguments for immortality, as far as we yet know, which nature affords us in our present state. There are others of less note, two of which I shall mention as auxiliary to this all-important subject."

"If man were not immortal, his state would be less desirable than that of brutes. Our rationality makes us foresee, and consequently dread evils and death, which their want of reflection exempts them from. Their joy is unmixed with fear, they dread no evil but what is present. They are directed instinctively and unerringly to the happiness of their nature: man, alone, is a devious animal; a strong argument that this life is a state of probation to him. To balance his greater cares, man has the hope of futurity; and God is too great to have deceived all mankind. This life is only a real good by being the entrance to immortality."

"We believe, that immortality is necessary to the equal justice of the Almighty towards mankind."

"I have now related to you, those proofs of immortality which make most impression on my mind. I shall only add, that from considering them in unison with our religious duties, we learn to love God rather than to fear him; thinking it a far more proper sentiment towards him, to whom we owe all that is good: we endeavour to fear nothing but to do injustice."

"The sun shines but on half the world at a time, the beneficence of God on all men, at all times: conscience, honestly consulted, is the light of God."

"To be virtuous, must please God, as it is consistent with the reason he hath given us; consequently it is practical religion. Tenets or opinions are solely between man and his God: we dare not interfere, where God only can judge. Love, justice, and service to man, is our virtue; love and thankfulness to God, our religion."

"I will conclude this subject, with the words of one of our poets, whose works are not yet published:"

"The book of nature is the book of God;
"The only uncorrupted source of truth."

Mr. Butler having done speaking, I requested him to favour us with his opinion on the materiality or immateriality of the soul. He promised compliance on the next day, on condition that the party would favour him with their company to dinner. This was agreed to: and his opinions on that subject are recited in the following chapter.

CHAP. X.

THE OPINIONS PREVALENT IN NEW BRITAIN ON MATERIALITY AND IMMATERIALITY; IN REFERENCE TO THE HUMAN SOUL; ALSO OF ITS PROBABLE NATURE; AND OF ITS NATURAL CAPABILITY OF IMMORTALITY.

WE all punctually kept our appointment with Mr. Butler; and after some desultory conversation, at our request, he commenced his promised discussion: which I have endeavoured to preserve as correctly as possible.

"The discussion of the question of the materiality or immateriality of the human soul, involves in it conjectures as to its probable nature; and however unsatisfactory they may be to some minds, from their not admitting of positive proof, I think all will agree with me, that this circumstance does not in the least invalidate the evidence, (which we recounted together yesterday) for the immortality of it."

"Prejudice, which is opinion without judgment, is the great enemy of free discussion, and conse-

quently of truth. That I have not now to batter this almost impenetrable obstacle is a great encouragement to me; and the same liberality in my hearers, will find excuses for the unavoidable recurrence of the same or similar thoughts, in the attempts to elucidate my opinions on so abstruse a subject."

"The great question at issue appears to be; is the soul a power or quality given to organized matter; or, is it a distinct power and essence directing it? Either is possible to God. The latter, as including immortality, is, in my opinion, the true one, it being most consonant to the known perfection of all His works. It is objected, by those who labour to persuade themselves that the soul is not immortal, that to gain an end by the addition of a distinct principle, when it can be done without; or by two, when one will do, is not like the usual works of God; but, it must be considered that the *same end* is not gained, their system gives only a mortal, a terminable being to man, while mine embraces an imperishable and interminable existence to his soul."

"We can have no distinct idea of positive immateriality, because it cannot exist; what is, must be something, though of a nature subtile beyond the power of the senses to discover: strict, absolute immateriality is non-entity. I believe the soul to be, in essence and nature, distinct from and infinitely superior to the simple material sub-

stance of the body; in its nature including the principle of thought, yet itself a substance, an essentially material being."

"The soul appears to me to be a compact, indivisible, and substantial existence, (and indissoluble by any means, save by a particular interposition of the Deity who formed it,) independant in its nature, but attached to the brain and body of man; using both merely as its instruments, for collecting ideas, which it associates, and for exercising its capacity of pleasure and pain. For want of a more expressive mean of communicating my ideas of its nature, it may be compared to the collection of the magnetic fluid in the magnet; which is a positive power, yet invisible, and only discoverable in its effects. This collection of fluid penetrates indifferently the most solid bodies, which to the eye appear to penetrate it; as is seen on passing any substance between the magnet and the object of its power; it has the power of attracting and repelling, by means unseen and unknown, yet evident in their effects: the soul, which in its nature equally eludes the senses, is also known to exist, by its effects, and is discovered plainly by the reflecting principle of its own particular nature; there can be no reason given, why it should not also penetrate indiscriminately solid bodies, and thus be uninjurable by any violence; nor why it should not in its own nature possess the power of giving and receiving impressions, by means of the nerves which are attached, like arms or feelers, to the instrument

in which it is seated. I consider the soul, in like manner, to possess the power of impelling the brain, by its own proper force, when it gives its commands; and of receiving impressions upon its own proper nature, through the medium of the nerves and the brain. It appears to me to be a powerful organized being of reflecting percipient essence, ruling and causing sensation; and only, yet plainly, discoverable to the senses by the effects of its power."

"Chaos, or universal ruin may overwhelm the body; but the principle or essence of the mind penetrates through the rocks, which may crush its instrument of action and of collecting knowledge here, without any impediment; more easily than the magnetic fluid passes through solids."

"Opposed to the opinion of simple or common materiality, which makes the thinking principle the result of the organization of unthinking matter, is, the equally improbable idea, which embraces the other extreme, and contends, that the material world is an unnecessary incumbrance, and is not real; but only exists in idea; by the Deity exciting sensations without the intervention of any material archetypes. This was, as we read, the dream of one of your bishops of the name of Berkeley."

"We are convinced of the existence of a material world without reasoning; and reasoning upon it, it has all the proofs in support of it, that we

have of ideas themselves: we must doubt reason and ideas, when we doubt these objects of their contemplation."

"Even this theory of the existence of nothing but the ideas of things, and its being difficult to be refuted to the full length of demonstration, evinces, that we are not to expect demonstrative evidence on metaphysical subjects, or to deny reasonable facts because we cannot fully account for them: it also proves that some arguments may be advanced to prove that all existence is mind, as well as to prove that all mind is only the result of a peculiar organization or modification of gross matter. I advance this to show the propriety of liberality of sentiment, and at the same time to prove that mankind have a strong propensity to go into extremes, which it requires an attentive use of their reason to moderate; and to infer from it, that the medium between these opposite extremes, is, the most promising field for research to those who labour for the discovery of truth."

"If my suggestion of the nature of the soul be admitted, as humbly treading on the verge of probability; I will next consider a few instances in which it shews an incipient independance of the instrument to which it is joined."

"The invariable consciousness of identity, which accompanies us through the entire changes of particles which compose our bodies in infancy, youth,

maturity, and old age, is, an argument for the percipient principle, or soul, being the occupier of the body, not the result of its organization. To consider the principle of thought as a distinct essence, accords best with all the recollections of individuality. I think with your Locke, 'that identity of consciousness constitutes identity of person.' This reasoning considers the soul, the man."

"We frequently recollect the mind, during sleep, to have used all its accustomed faculties, without the intervention of the senses, though with similar impressions; which declares a degree of independance, already, upon its instrument; and induces the probability of its being hereafter completed."

"That memory and reflection excite the ideas of things, without exciting the sensations which the objects themselves would produce, is, another argument for the distinct essence and independance of mind. To this may be added, as we advance in life, we are less attentive to the impressions of sensation, and more conversant with our own reflections.

"If the soul were only the result of the organization of man, each particular sensation would be followed by a particular or corresponding muscular motion only, which is not the case. We observe that the soul receives, judges, decides, and then transmits its commands, which are not always the same from similar impressions upon the nerves:

this proves it to be a principle distinct in essence, ruling in man."

"Another reason for considering the soul as a distinct essence, a director in man, is, that its *seat* is local, the brain. Were it the result of the general organization, a nerve impeded in its communication with the brain by a tight ligature, should retain its usual power of sensation, though it could not communicate it: now a part in this situation does not shew to observation any sensibility of pain, from what would induce it in other circumstances. Does not this fact lead us to this conclusion, that the mind alone has percipiency even of sensation, and not any part of the body; that the body with the nerves form only an instrument necessary to its present state; that the sense of pain is only referred to its parts while they hold communication with the mind, that it may draw its instrument from danger or direct it to good; and that the sensations are not in the parts to which they are referred, but in the mind? If so, must not the mind be a distinct essence?"

"In the case of an amputated leg, a sensation of pain is often referred to the toes, which no longer live; this with the soul as a distinct principle or essence, a resident, is to be accounted for by the sensation being received by the remaining parts of the nerves of the toes; but were the soul only the result of the general organization, this sensation

could not take place. Thus the soul seated in the brain appears to be the sole cause even of sensation, as all sensations are dependant on it; the parts that are exquisitely sensible in communication with it, losing all sensation when that communication is destroyed."

"Thus if sensation be only referred to the parts receiving the impression, not really at them, as the circumstances of a tight ligature preventing sensation, in cases where there would otherwise be a very strong one, and that of the sensation of pain being referred to the toes in the case of an amputated leg, give strong reasons to conclude; is it not most probable that the ends of the nerves terminating in the brain, being of the same nature, with the other ends, are also insensible, are equally only part of the instrument; and that all sensation as well as thought is in the invisible substance of a distinct essence, the directing soul? If this be so, and even scepticism cannot deny its probability, what a powerful, not to say conclusive argument, it is for the independance of the essence of the substance of the soul; and of its natural capability of immortality."

"Permit me again to impress upon you, that it is most probable the ends of the nerves which terminate in the brain, are of themselves, when unconnected with mind, as insensible, as their other terminations are without that connection. We refer the sensation of feeling to the fingers, &c.; but they have no knowledge of the sensations of

which they are the instruments; it is the mind only that has the knowledge and feeling of sensations."

"In sleep the soul is frequently in a state of which the memory takes no note, though there are reasons for concluding that it is not unconscious; for we perceive its active employment while talking in sleep, an undoubted proof of consciousness; yet on awaking and resuming its common functions, it is quite unconscious of, and without memory on the subject; thus we know the soul can act without the memory retaining the least trace of the action: so that the circumstance of people apparently dead, having no recollection of any thing, or even of existence, on their recovery, is no proof that the soul is the produce of the organization of the body, or that it is really unconscious during the time. In cases of recovery after suspended animation, the soul generally resumes its full powers before the body is fully restored, a circumstance favourable to its independant existence."

"In all ordinary causes of death, sensation as well as thought ceases before the nervous and muscular powers lose their action. In cases where respiration is supported by artificial means, there is full proof of the continuance of the nervous and the muscular power; but nothing, in such cases, impresses the sentient and thinking principle, nor are any impressions given from it. This tends to prove that the soul is not the result of the modification of the animal

substance of the brain; but a distinct power using the brain, and through it the body, while sufficiently perfect to be an efficient instrument of its will or purposes. The organization in these cases is still so far entire, as to admit of muscular motion on the nerves being excited: the excitement is strong, but the commander is gone and cannot be recalled. May we not also infer from this, and from the soul departing in some instances when there appears to be no material injury done to the system, that it is possible it has a knowledge of the real state of its instrument superior to that of observers."

"The transient nature of the pleasures of sense, compared to those of reflection in the mind, is of itself presumptive evidence of the more permanent nature of the latter; for though the soul is probably the only source of sensation, yet this shows a nature capable of outliving the instrument of sensation to which it is attached in the present state."

"Whence does the idea of flying arise, which so often occurs in sleep, to beings who never possessed the habit or power? It is worthy of observation too, that we appear to fly only by an impulse of the will, without the usual means of this motion. Is it then unphilosophical to suppose that the soul in this state launches, by ideal anticipation for the time, into a slight foretaste of the state we are destined to enjoy?"

"The power of the mind to call up, at will, recollections of scenes distant both in time and place, in which the use of the senses is not required, is a strong proof of the superior nature of the thinking principle, and its power of independant action. Comparing, analyzing, and determining, are among the chief faculties of mind; and are its own effort often exerted from memory, without again requiring the instrumentality of the senses."

"In thinking, the soul acts independantly of the instrument of sensation; it is not impressed upon, but impresses; a strong evidence of its independant nature."

"The effect of sudden bad news, proves that the mind is distinct from, and superadded to organization and vitality. In these cases we frequently find, that the action of thought has all the effect that violent pressure would have upon the brain, even to the extent of temporary paralysis, and sometimes of death; can we say that this is not direct pressure of the percipient substance of the mind, when we thus see the effect of its action upon the brain? The slow decay occasioned by grief, is probably still more expressive of the commanding and distinct nature of the mind; it has all the effect that an unhealthy climate, unsuited to the state of the body, and consequently perpetually pressing unfavourably upon all its nerves, and corroding its vital functions, could have; yet through all this decline the soul retains its full vigour."

"Though we cannot fully describe the principle of thought in man, it is evident, from what has been said, that the soul is not the result of sensation, but the cause of it. That intelligence which rises to the contemplation of causes and effects, is the soul. It is not compound ideas that are, or make reflection; but reflection that compounds ideas, and draws useful conclusions from them. Is not then the soul, the reasoning power, a superior and distinct essence, added to, and possessing the instrument of sensation?"

"If the soul were only a collection of sensations, as the doctrine of its being the result of organization implies; beasts having the senses more acute and more powerful than man, ought to excel him in reason; but the fact is, that with senses far more powerful than those of man, they are infinitely inferior to him in intelligence; how are we to account for this, except by a distinct and superior nature, of the soul of man, holding possession of his inferior instrument of sensation?"

"It is most probable that beasts have souls, governing and causing their senses, &c. as their power of will gives cause to infer; but evidently of a very inferior and distinct nature to that of man; as with superior senses to collect information, they never approach to his reason. Whether immortality is the lot of brutes, I shall not attempt to examine. But few of the arguments which apply to man are applicable to them; as from their inferior intel-

lectual nature they appear to have no idea or anticipation of it."

"The optic and auditory nerves are considered as the chief sources of intellectual ideas; yet we find that the deaf and blind make surprising progress in knowledge. Is not this best accounted for by considering the intellectual principle as distinct from, and applying more assiduously to the remaining means, and to its power of reflection. If any part of corporeal organization approached to the nature of the soul, it would be sight, the power of feeling distant objects; yet the thinking principle is entire when deprived of it, and even without ever having enjoyed it: this may also be applied to the sense of hearing, to those of taste and smell, and in a great degree to the general one of feeling."

"We know the soul can exist in full vigour after the loss of sight, or hearing, or taste, or smelling, and even with considerable privation of the general sense of feeling; is it then unreasonable to suppose that it can and does exist without all these; but requires the assistance of some or all of them, to discover its presence to other intelligencies of the same nature, while they are confined to the use of similar means or instruments for collecting or receiving intelligence?"

"In memory, the mind recollects, without again receiving the impressions as at first; it also judges

and compares without the sensations which produced the original ideas: it learns by using the senses, but is not deprived of its knowledge by their loss. This implies that the soul is a superior and distinct principle in man."

"It appears to be the power of the percipient principle alone, which directs voluntary actions; for this direction we have no idea of the interference of sensations, or the need of them."

"The astronomer developing the laws of nature and demonstrating that the stars, which appear to the sense of sight but specks of light, are most of them bodies far more stupendous than the earth we live upon, must have a principle within him essentially superior to a mere receptacle of sensation, which a soul, merely the result of the organization of the body would be; without such a superior reasoning essence in possession, the senses might for ever convey impressions, without the least progress towards improvement: the improvement which beasts, in some instances, evince, is the result of practice, aided by the art of man."

"On the supposition that the mind is only the result of the organization of the brain, it is difficult to account for reflection and understanding; it appears to me, that such a soul would be only moved by present impressions. It is more reasonable and consistent to consider it a pure, invisible, and in-

tangible substance, distinct in nature from, and possessing the human body, when fitted for its reception: so essentially different from the changeable and perishable matter to which it is attached in this life, as to be adapted to contemplate and enjoy for ever, the wonderful works of the Deity throughout the universe. A soul, mortal like the body, would form an inferior man, to one of immortal principle, using the visible man as its instrument; it would be unworthy of an Omnipotent and Omniscient Creator; and man would form a case in which the created being would surpass in his ideas the performance of his Creator. If man be not immortal, there is no God; a conclusion involving impossibilities, as we concluded yesterday, for, without a superior intelligence and power to create him, man, being unable to create himself, had never been."

"When we exert the thinking principle to judge of ourselves, we have a consciousness that it forms no part of the body, but is the dictator, examining and deciding. We have a consciousness that it is seated in the head, but none, that it results from its organization; yet, we more than feel that it is the light and life of our being. Whatever its peculiar substance may be, I feel confident the Almighty Parent of All has endued it with a nature increasing in intelligence, and that He will enable it, by degrees, to comprehend the wonders of His creation. Such is the heaven of reason; such the heaven worthy to be provided by an Omniscient and Beneficent Deity, for the intelligent beings He

has created: let me be but the minutest being of percipiency, enjoying reason thus: I shall be content, be grateful, be great."

"I consider that the soul of man is not, as some have argued, part of the substance of God himself; were it so, it could never act wrong, and all mankind would be united; no man could break so powerful a bond of rectitude and union."

Sir George observed, "the materialists of Europe, or those who consider the mind to be the result of organization, attempt to account for all the phenomena of mind by sensation, and the association of sensations."

To this Mr. B, replied, "such a system supposes sensations to produce the mind; our general opinion is exactly the reverse, we think that the percipient substance is the cause of sensations, and receives the intelligence which they have the power of collecting. We have no idea of sensations, however numerous, producing reflection; but consider them as the means used, by a directing principle and power, distinct from, and infinitely superior in essence and nature to the instruments by which they are transmitted, for the developement of this faculty."

"While the eyes see one set of objects, the mind can call before it others; and it is in like manner with all the other senses; a power denoting a supe-

rior nature, to the mere result of the organization of the body. A mind owing its existence to the organization of the body, would be the slave of the present impressions of those organs: that which caused its existence would have too much power over it to be resisted."

"We have people who think the soul perfect in principle all through life; in the infant, inexperienced and unlearned in what nature and life present; in the adult, experienced, active, and developed; in the old, experienced, with an instrument declining in power."

"If the soul could hover round the body while the latter is in a state of suspended animation, and recollect the circumstances, we should no longer doubt of its immortal and distinct nature; but perceiving its destiny it might be tempted to leave it; it may be necessary to its keeping its present connection, that it cannot thus evince entire independance in its present state.

"The active state of the soul in sleep-walking, in some measure approaches to a state of being without the senses, or shows a mean of perception without them. The sleep-walker pursues the most difficult paths without accident or apparent apprehension; he reads, writes, or follows any series of action upon which the mind is engaged, with a precision and marks of mental ability, superior to his waking state; yet his eyes do not perform their

office, nor would he discontinue writing or reading by an opaque body being held between them and the paper or book, nor be in the least impeded by it. When he awakes he has not the slightest recollection of what has happened; but appears frequently to remember the same incidents the next time he is in the same state. This tends to shew that the seeming suspension of consciousness and the failure of memory, in cases of suspended animation, are no proofs of inactivity or inanition in the soul at the time; but rather that it may then be in an active state: and, may not the pauses of memory which consequently occur, arise from the same law of our nature, and thus consciousness be continued without our remembering it? The soul clogged with the instrument of the senses, may be unable to note and mark the bolder flights it makes when less incumbered: as thought leaves the animal powers lagging behind its rapid and easy excursions." In this state we perceive a course of actions arising entirely from internal impulses of the percipient principle; and which preclude the necessity of sensations. The soul is the primary cause of the actions thus produced; it is neither called into action, nor guided in it by the instrument of the senses; yet performs actions, requiring their utmost vigilance when awake. Does not this imply, that the percipient principle is a distinct essence, occupying and impelling the man by means of the nerves; and that it may exist in a future state without them; or, be attached to, and impel more powerful media of intellectual research."

"If it be true, that some cataleptic people have the senses of sight, hearing and smelling transferred to the pit of the stomach, as some of your European writers have asserted, it is an additional proof of the independance of the percipient principle on the organs of sensation: it would thus appear to retire there to wait the event of death, or of the recovery of its proper instrument, the brain and its dependant branches. We have not had the opportunity, in our country, of proving or disproving this by experiment; as we have no instance of nervous disease proceeding to so great a height."

"The objection may be made, by those who push scepticism to its utmost verge, to the system of the intelligent principle being only a resident in the visible man, and naturally capable of immortality, that, it may, at death, like the magnetic power of a destroyed or perished magnet, be dissipated through nature. But the consciousness of individuality, in the intelligent principle which animates man, through all the changes of life, from childhood to old age, with an instrument ever varying, gives earnest, not only of its superior nature and distinctness from the instrument of the body, but also of a much greater subtilty and identity of nature than the magnetic power; and gives reason to conclude, that dissipation is not likely to take place. I conceive the principle of intelligence to be so much superior in nature to the power which acts invisibly in the magnet, (which I have used as

a mean of comparison to make myself understood) that it cannot be disunited or disorganized by any violence we can conceive. Let it but be granted that this is possible, in nature and to God, and immortality is established. I had almost said, the honour of the Creator is engaged on my side; for, can he permit his greatest work to fall short of its utmost possible perfection; or permit the conception of a state of being, by man, to surpass his plan of creation? Yet this would be the case, were men only created for this mortal life, while man himself conceives and anticipates an immortal one, which is undoubtedly a superior state of being."

"What I have said, is intended to show the utter improbability of the percipient principle being the result of the organization of the body; and the many considerations which render it more than probable that it is a distinct essence, a thinking substance holding possession. That there are insuperable obstacles to our demonstrating its exact nature and mode of existence, may be readily granted, without invalidating the many probabilities which reason produces in favour of its being a distinct and independant essence; but, it must also be allowed, that there are also explanations of natural phenomena, received as facts, which are founded on reason alone; I mean the evidence of reflection only, unaided by sensation. In elucidation of this, I shall only mention the circumstances of the diurnal motion of the earth, which is, in many of its habitable parts, about a thousand miles, in an

hour; and of its annual motion, which is about sixty-eight thousand miles every hour, a rate one hundred and forty times swifter than a cannon-ball, while to the senses all is still; these give not the slightest intimation of any motion, yet they readily perceive the most trivial motion of the atmosphere during winds; notwithstanding this, when we are told that it is accounted for by the atmosphere moving with the earth, we are satisfied and rely upon the fact. Now there are many things which I have adduced in favour of the soul being a distinct, subtile, ethereal essence attached to the body, which are as completely within the range of probability, as that a fluid so unstable and fugitive as the atmosphere, should accompany a solid body like the earth in such inconceivably rapid motions. Perhaps the best solution of all these difficulties is, that our Creator has not given us, in this incipient state of being, senses capable of discovering his means of effecting power, motion, attraction, stability, and union, particularly as relates to substances which are discoverable only by reflection, that we may exercise our reason the more: in a superior state we shall doubtless be able to discover the causes where we now only perceive the effects."

"If the soul be not a resident power of a distinct essence and nature, possessing the brain, we cannot account for the prompt enforcement of its commands. The brain, and the continuation of it in the medullary substance of the nerves, is well

adapted for an instrument, the parts acting like confined columns of water, and this communicating with the utmost promptitude, the slightest impressions made upon them; but in so soft a substance, without muscular power, how can we account for the powerful action but by the powerful agency of a distinct and potent intelligence in possession?"

Mr. Butler now said, "I never consider what I deem the most probable destination of the human soul, but with the enthusiasm of philosophic wonder. I will take this opportunity of giving you my further opinion of the nature and destination of the percipient substance of man, the human soul: a train of thinking which comes almost irresistibly upon me whenever the subject presents itself to my mind."

"The arguments already adduced strengthen the idea, that the soul will, in a future state, be increased in those powers first called into action in this life, though unassisted by its present instruments of perception or visible action. I infer, that it can exist, perceive and act without them. That the probability is, that it will go from planet to planet, and from system to system, still increasing (unless retarded for the punishment of its vices) in perceptive powers, and enjoying more and more the wonders of the acts and power of the Great Creator of all. That it shall pass through innumerable gradations of existence, attached in each remove to superior instruments of perception and intelligence. That at last it shall become an en-

tirely percipient being, independent of the instrumentality of any corporeal mode of sensation or body; yet knowing and known to other beings of the same degree of progress towards perfection. That it shall finally be enabled to traverse all nature, from system to system, by the impulse of its own will. That this is more reasonable than the narrow system generally promulgated, I maintain, because it is more sublime and more suitable to the ineffable greatness of the Omnipotent Author of all. That the intelligent beings which may successively inhabit other planets and systems, should commence on earth, and be put forward or restrained in their career, according to their conduct here, and so on in their successive states, is a better system than, that intelligent beings are throughout all nature, born but to die and be annihilated. That it is more consonant to the greatness of the Deity, that all intelligent beings should commence on one planet, to go through such gradations, than that each system and planet should have its peculiar beings without connection with each other: all merely mortal, the transient bubbles of a day. That this would equally people all nature, by attaching the soul to other instruments in other planets and systems successively, without the dreadful alternative of annihilation, or the over population of any future state. That thus prepared through innumerable gradations of improved existence, the soul at last shall become perfect, free from all gross aids or impediments, requiring no support or raiment from the productions of the

planets; invisible to all but beings who have attained the same exalted state of nature; and, though certainly material, of that subtile nature, that it shall pass through common materiality, as easily as light travels through air, ever happy in contemplating the wonderful works and bounteous goodness of their Great Creator, and ever grateful to him for having created them for, and conducted them to, so perfect a state of intelligence and bliss. Of such beings, nature can perhaps, hardly ever be too full. And, I believe something like this, or rather a far more exalted and superior course of existence is marked out for man, in the laws of the Great Parent of all, because man has conceived this, and in all known cases, the Deity has, in his works, infinitely surpassed the ideas of man. What pleasure can Infinite Wisdom and Goodness be supposed to take in an eternal round of incipient beings of mere mortality, when it is in his power to lead them through almost eternal gradations of being, till they become fitted to penetrate and admire all his works? In all uncertain cases respecting the works or intentions of the Deity, the greatest and noblest construction we can conceive, is the most likely to approach truth: and finally, even the uncertainty, or rather the want of demonstration, of the natural evidences of immortality, is, most probably, intended to make this life the more perfect state of probation."

Sir George observed, "if such a system be in any way analogous to the laws of nature in man, is it

not surprising that our nature has so recent a commencement: for neither history nor tradition make man to have existed more than a few thousand years?"

To this Mr. B— replied, "supposing man to have been created ten thousand millions of years ago, those who lived in any of a few of the first millions, might have asked the same question, and, on an enlarged view, even those of the last also. To an Eternal Being, what rule can be given as to when he shall commence what he intends to do? Why is not all the earth equally habitable for man? Why are not the oceans curtailed, and more habitable land produced, that man may have more range, and may multiply the more? These are questions that are equally unanswerable, as, why the race of man did not commence sooner? There is, in my mind, no doubt but that the plan and the time of commencement were both so ordered, as to be ultimately for the best, by the All-wise and Beneficent Creator, and Parent of all."

Sir George said, "it is difficult to conceive how invisible substances can be so strongly united in their parts, as to remain entire after the destruction of the instruments to which they were attached."

Mr. B— replied, "the chief difficulty arises from its being beyond the power of the senses to examine the substance of the soul, it being only subject to the scrutiny of its superior faculty of

reflection: to the eye of reflection alone, we owe all we know of its nature and powers. We know that collections of invisible fluids are the most powerful and active instruments in nature, why then should we doubt their capability of organization, and that in that state the substance of them is most powerfully united? We may add to this, that there is very imperfect individuality in the ever changing substance of the body of man, and the most perfect idea we have of it is, in the invisible thinking principle; a strong argument for its being firmly united."

"I will only add to this long discussion, a remark which had nearly escaped my memory, from the extreme rareness of the occasion of it in our country, that it is probable in drunkenness and insanity, the deranged state of the instrument is, the cause of impressions being conveyed to and from the mind erroneously and imperfectly."

CHAP. XI.

THE OPINIONS OF SOME OF THE NEW BRITONS ON THE MEAN OF SENSATION.

WE spent several days thus agreeably in the discussion of, or in hearing their opinions upon various philosophical and metaphysical subjects. I shall not relate those which coincide generally with the opinions and experiments of the scientific and intelligent of our own country, but will mention those on which they appear to me to have other arguments or have come to different conclusions.

One evening, at Mr. Powell's (now become our head quarters) we met two of the natives of the country, who had come from a distant village to converse with us, or as they politely said, to be benefited by our conversation; their names were Mr. Ellisson and Mr. Naylor. They continued several days in the village, and passed the afternoons with us. The conversation on the evening alluded to, being upon the mean by which sensations are produced and connected with perception, Mr. E—

said, "I think the system, or theory, generally adopted in New Britain, is, from its more simple nature, and accounting for more of its phenomena, preferable to the three which appear to divide European philosophers."

Sir George requested he would give us the opinion which prevailed in his country, on this subject, as it was one of great interest to him; and he had never been able to reconcile the phenomena with the Newtonian, the Cartesian, or the electric or galvanic system of communication: which he concluded were the three alluded to.

Mr. E— replied, "those are the three hypothesises. In explaining my opinion on this subject, it will probably be best to give, in the first instance, the principle or mean which I think it probable that nature adopts for the attainment of this end; and then to show in desultory remarks on the different senses, circumstances in which it appears more applicable to the solution of the phenomena, of sensation, and the consequent perception, and also of motion by the dictates of the percipient principle, than the three already enumerated."

"It may be necessary to remark, that my reasoning on this subject will have reference to the opinion, that the soul, or perceiving and reflecting principle in man is, an exquisitely subtile, and invisible, though compactly organized substance, perfectly distinct in nature and essence from the brain, and

possessing it in all its parts; having power to impress its will or dictates upon its several parts to produce through the nerves every variety of motion in the body; to receive every variety of impression made upon the nerves, at their corresponding parts, or ends, terminating in the brain; judging, deciding, and acting upon them; and that it is the sole cause and repository even of sensation. But, it may be proper also to observe, that whatever theory of the mind be adopted, the simplest means, of accounting for the various phenomena, is entitled to attention, as most analogous to the simple grandeur of the known means used by our Great Creator in all his works."

"I consider the medullary substance of the brain, as it were, an animal pith, perfectly full of a watery fluid, and that it is continued through the entire system of the nerves, in all their ramifications. I also consider, that the minutest nerves have all their separate and distinct courses, where they are collected into large nervous branches, each having a distinct part of the general conduit, and that this distinction is continued all through to their centre, the brain, where they expand to impress upon, and receive impressions from, the percipient and energetic moving substance which pervades it. This nervous instrument being completely packed and bound on every side in just proportion to the strength required by its several parts, makes every nerve act like a confined column of water, which communicates the slightest pressure on one end to

its other extremity, be the path straight or circuitous, as instantaneously as pushing one end of a rod, in a straight line with its other end, would impress the motion upon that other end: and I consider, that all sensations are communicated by means of simple pressure."

"Such a fluid, and so ordered, is at once the finest, softest, and the strongest medium, capable of the most delicate, the most certain, and the quickest intimations. An impression upon it is preserved in due force by the closeness, strength, and exactness of the package, or foldings, and their soft and elastic nature prevents, by their yielding, a violent impression from going with dangerous force to the brain, yet preserves it sufficiently to give intimation of its nature. The extremely fine pithy texture of the medullary substance, holding like a sponge, prevents, on the nerves being wounded or divided, the fluid from oozing out, which simple tubes would not have done; and thus admirably frees the system from an imminent danger, without impeding its usefulness. A proper degree of fulness in the nerves is essential to the performance of their functions."

"The Cartesian theory assumes the nerves to be tubes, conductors of a subtile fluid, called the animal spirits, secreted in the brain. This fluid is supposed, on an impression being made upon a nerve, to retreat back to the brain, and to make a trace corresponding to the sensation. Memory

and association are accounted for by the spirits passing from trace to trace, and wearing a sort of beaten path. The general objections to this theory are, that the existence of such a fluid has not been ascertained; that it is not yet proved, that the nerves are simple tubes; and, that most probably they are not. My objection to this system is, that a retreating fluid cannot act so promptly, and is not so simple a mean, as one that at the same instant and constantly, embraces both the extremities of communication."

"The Newtonian system supposes the medullary substance to be acted upon by vibrations, which are continued to and from the brain, and thus communicate between the instruments of the senses and the thinking and sentient principle. This vibration is not supposed to be like that of a musical chord, but a vibration of the minute particles of the nerve and brain. Vibration appears to require longer time than simple pressure, not only to communicate to and from the brain, but also to subside to be ready for the conveyance of subsequent impressions."

"The theory of galvanism, or animal electricity, being the medium of communication, supposes the brain to be a sort of galvanic battery, not only continually giving, but also receiving shocks or streams."

"In applying a few circumstances of sensation

to these various theories of communication, I would premise, that I consider the reflecting percipient substance pervading and possessing the brain, to be also the sole cause and power of sensation. That its being impressed through the medium of a nerve causes in it a sensation, which a benevolent law of nature for the safety and convenience of the man, immediately refers to the part of the nerve where the impression is made; and that its impressing any nerve, or number of nerves, causes their immediate exertion for the necessary movement in all voluntary motions. I also earnestly request, that any error, real or apparent, which I may be under in the course of my observations, may be freely remarked upon and discussed; as the proper motive of all research is truth, not victory."

"I shall first, and indeed mostly, produce circumstances from the sense of feeling; of which, it is probable, all the other senses are only modifications."

"In lightly touching any substance with the finger, there is nothing that appears decisively in favour of any system; but it is at least as well accounted for by pressure, as by any of the others."

"In strongly pushing or holding any thing for a long time, the sensation is continued; in which time, any supposed vibration must be considered to have ceased; a retreating fluid to have done

retreating; and it is difficult to suppose that every substance is a dispenser of galvanic fluid, or can supply a continued stream during the time it is held or pushed: against the system of simple pressure no such difficulties present themselves. Pressure appears to be the only mean of communication which can exist permanently upon a nerve, independant of motion in the substance causing the impression. The continuance of sensations after the cause is removed, where the original impressions are particularly vigorous, is accounted for by pressure, as the strongest impressions upon the medullary substance are the longest in subsiding."

"Some of your writers, who are advocates for the theory of vibration, consider sleep to be induced by the expansion, from warmth, of the blood-vessels of the head compressing the medullary substance and impeding the vibrations. I am inclined to think that vibrations thus easily suspended, would be liable to many interruptions during the waking state. I cannot conceive a state of compression to be a state of rest."

"Your Dr. Hartley adduces the case of the Parisian beggar, in evidence of the brain being compressed during sleep. This person had a perforation in his skull which did not ossify; by gently pressing the part, the brain was affected, as the pressure was increased he became more sleepy, and at last fell into a temporary apoplexy. The appearance of sleep in this case, I consider, was the

commencement of stupor: here disease was induced, and removed with the removal of the cause inducing it. It bears little analogy to natural sleep, or to the sensations of health. That too much pressure is the cause of death in apoplexy, by instantly, as it were, overwhelming sensation, by injuring its instrument, is no proof that it is not the mean of sensation in a healthy state, but of the contrary."

"I think the relaxation of the system from weariness, induces a flaccid state of the muscular fibres, and consequently of the nerves, which state induces sleep. In this flaccid state the nerves no longer convey, with vivid certainty, the slightest impressions; as while thus, as it were, unbraced, they are not perfectly full, which accounts for the extreme dulness of sensation during sleep: when roused into the waking state, the whole frame becomes braced, the flaccid nerves are tightened to fulness, and thus fitted to perform their office with the required promptitude."

"This flaccidity of the nerves appears to be the cause of the body refusing to obey the impressions of the mind in dreams."

"I would also be understood to infer in elucidation of my ideas on this subject, that in all cases of voluntary muscular motion, there are pressures made by the percipient and sentient principle, on

the medullary substance of the brain, productive of them, and with which they correspond."

"It is probable that the watery fluid which is infused so fully through the nerves, is the cause of the convulsive motion of the muscles when galvanic shocks are applied, by being an imperfect conductor. But that the galvanic fluid possesses the properties of the nervous influence, or identical properties, I cannot believe to be the fact, for the following reasons."

"When the nerve of any muscle is divided, and the part separated from the system is burnt with a hot wire, or punctured with a needle, the muscle where it has its course moves and contracts violently. We have thus all the effects of galvanism, where its agency cannot be suspected in sufficient degree to produce the effect. Burning and puncturing are both means of giving pressure to a nerve in this state; and is not a galvanic shock a kind of pressure all along the course of an imperfect conductor?"

"Muscular motion continues for some time in an amputated limb; which, according to the galvanic hypothesis could not take place, as it has then lost its connection with the main battery. On the system of pressure this may be accounted for; as the shrinking of the nerves from the action of the air and cold upon the divided parts, may cause so much pressure upon them, as to continue for

some time, irregular and convulsive motion to the separated limb."

"Points draw off galvanic fluid in the way least noticed by the senses; but applied to the body give the acutest sensations of pain; which does not agree with galvanism being the medium for communicating sensations. On the theory of pressure this may be accounted for, by the violent impression upon, or laceration of the minute nerves."

"Continued heavy or forcible pressure, and even a degree of violence, should be no more felt, according to the theory of galvanic communication, than the slightest touch, or the most soothing application; and it even might be expected, in some cases, that to come within striking distance should have all the effect of contact."

"In reference also to the theories of vibration and of retreating animal spirits, the instances last noticed, appear less applicable than to the theory of simple pressure. Supposing it possible that vibration can take place along the substance of the nerves, packed and surrounded as they are, without vibration of the limb and the body, yet heavy and forcible pressure on any part, even to violence, is not likely to cause more active vibrations, than a slight tap or shake. Thus it would be difficult, by this theory, to distinguish the degree of violence or force. And, on the theory of retreating animal spirits, it is difficult to account for long continued

sensation; as for such an office, a moveable and retreating medium must soon have done moving and retreating. I am not aware that there are any of these objections to the system of simple pressure upon columns of stationary and incompressible fluid."

"I have read, that on dissecting men who have died in a state of insanity, the brain generally appears drier than in healthy subjects, and the blood-vessels intersecting it are much distended. In such cases we have two circumstances favourable to the theory of pressure; first, the dryness of the brain, or a want of fulness of the substance, induces a consequent inability to perform its functions; and, secondly, by the unnatural distention of the blood-vessels intersecting it, it must be pressed upon in directions very different from those which are natural in a healthy state; producing suitable returns of action. The conduct of insane persons, so incoherent to observers, may be perfectly consistent with the impressions received by the soul, through the medium of its disordered instrument; and those given by the former may be perfectly correct, but distorted by coming through the medium of the same deranged instrument. The soul, however perfect, can only communicate with those of other men, by means of their mutual instruments, their nervous systems; and when these are imperfect, the communication becomes distorted and untrue, in proportion to that imperfection. The little at-

tention which insane people pay to external impressions is favourable to these opinions."

"The sensations of heat and cold agree well with the theory of pressure, by expanding or contracting the fluids at the extremities of the nerves. The changes of heat and cold which give lively sensations to the nervous system, would not, I believe have any observable effect, by shock or stream, applied to the conductor of a galvanic battery."

"The destruction of a frozen limb, by being thawed too suddenly, and thus, not giving the heat time to diffuse and equalize itself gradually, bursting and destroying the fine organization of the part, strongly proves the effect of expansion, and the power of pressure in the fluids of the human body."

"It is said by some of the advocates for a galvanic medium, that what is capable of acting as a substitute for the nervous influence, must possess its properties. But, because a galvanic shock given to a nerve, divided from the body, convulses the muscle governed by it, is it necessarily a substitute, and possessed of its properties? Burning or puncturing the nerve will also cause similar motions; can then things so widely different be all substitutes, all possess its properties? Certainly not. On the system of pressure these effects may

be accounted for without contradiction; the burning, by expanding the fluid, causes strong pressure upon the nerve, and consequently motion; the puncturing, is direct and acute pressure; and the galvanic shock must be considered as giving pressure, in forcing its way along an imperfect conductor."

"Why should we consider our Creator to employ a fugitive fluid, when a resident one, more simple and less dangerous, as to wear and tear upon the system, will answer as well, or better, on all occasions? Why should He employ vibrations through a fleshy substance, over joints, and through bony conduits, continued from particle to particle of a substance, not (according to common ideas) the most likely to vibrate freely, in an office requiring almost inconceivable promptitude, when the end can be gained by simple pressure upon the nerves filled with a watery fluid?"

The usual time of rest now approaching, Mr. E. proposed leaving the consideration of the application of the system of pressure to the other senses, till the following day: which he said he would then treat of as briefly as possible.

We all met the next day, when Mr. E. concluded this subject, as follows; at least as nearly so as my notes and memory can supply the matter of his conversation.

"The sense of taste, which is most acute at and near the tip of the tongue, by the extremities of the nerves being formed into sentient papillæ, appears to be acted upon by a chemical effect of the food, on a secretion produced upon the papillæ; the different chemical affinities, causing by their variety of motion, corresponding pressure upon the nerves, and by it the sensation of taste. Different degrees of motion, heat, &c. and the corresponding pressure, give the varieties of the sensations of taste."

"It may possibly be objected, that a pressure upon the tongue, much heavier than that of any kind of food, may give no sensation of taste, which is true; this only acts upon the sense of feeling. It appears necessary to the sense of taste, that some of the sapid substance should mix with, and cause chemical motion in the secretions at the end of the papillæ of the nerves, as the mean of inducing pressure upon them, by which we have the sensation of taste: and, it is probable, that the nerves of the sense of taste are less prominent than those of feeling. In proof of this, it is observable, that the most powerful sapid substances induce no sensation of taste, if dry, till they are moistened by the tongue; and also, that a strong taste is retained a long time after the cause is removed, as if some remains of the substance were entangled."

"Liquors, when heated, have their peculiar

flavours stronger than when cold, which may be accounted for, by their mixing more freely with, and thus causing more motion in the secretions of the papillæ, and with it livelier pressure upon the nerves."

"Highly seasoned food may be relished after hunger is appeased by more simple viands; it gives a different or greater pressure, and thus a fresh relish."

"The sensation of hunger, in the degree which gives a high relish to aliment, is probably caused by the secretions on the papillæ becoming free from all remains of sapid substances; and in consequence, the nerves becoming very susceptible of pressure from the slightest chemical movement, after the rest thus obtained."

"The sensation of thirst probably arises by the secretions on the papillæ becoming glutinous and heated, from the deficiency of moisture; hence the pleasure received while in this state from liquids which are cold and diluting."

"All the phenomena of the sense of taste, appear to be accounted for by the theory of pressure, at least as well, as by the other theories before noticed."

"The chemical motions I have mentioned, may be considered as being as likely to produce vibra-

tions as pressure; but I contend, that the medullary substance of the nerves is more likely to communicate by, and to be acted upon by pressure, than by vibration."

"The theory of retreating animal spirits appears liable to the objection, that it is not likely to keep retreating and returning to retreat again, every instant during a long meal; such a laborious mean is unnecessary, and consequently not probable."

"The theory of galvanism applied to this sense, requires, that all sapid substances should evolve galvanic fluid, or cause it to collect upon their application to the tongue; and that an atom of ginger or pepper, should have more of the power than a considerable quantity of plain food."

"I shall not detain you by treating at large the peculiarities of every sense; and shall therefore only observe, with respect to the sense of smelling, that it is, like taste, a modification of feeling, probably produced by a chemical movement of the odoriferous substance upon a secretion, at the extremities of the olfactory nerves, inducing pressure upon them. As the arguments adduced for preferring the theory of pressure, in the conversation we have had upon the sense of taste, also apply to the sense of smelling, your recollection of those will present them to you much readier than my repeating them would do."

"In noticing the sense of sight, it may be proper to observe, that it (as well as tasting, smelling, and hearing, the other distinct and refined modifications of the general sense of feeling,) is placed close to the seat of the sentient and percipient principle; the most delicate, that of sight, the nearest, and so in proportion; probably to be less liable to interruption, in performing the exquisitely delicate functions for which they are created. Sight is the power of feeling objects at a distance, by their lights, and shades, and colours."

"On closing the window-shutters of a room, we find not only the entrance of light prevented, but also, that we have lost that which was in the room; this shows it to be a continued stream of radiance from its source, which, with its being reflected from substances which it does not pass through, the rapidity with which it makes its way, the change it induces upon vegetation, the overpowering impression it makes upon the eyes when very strong, and also its being stopped by opaque substances, proves it to be possessed of substance and force; though its nature is too refined for discovery by the general sense of feeling, and its existence is only detectible by a peculiar organization adapted for the purpose. That light is rapidly absorbed, by the earth and all opaque substances, appears probable by its instantaneous loss, as in the circumstance of the closed window-shutters just noticed. Light, is possibly a peculiar modification of caloric; and the immense quantity which the sun emits,

may be perpetually returning to its source in a less brilliant state."

"I conclude that light is possessed of substance and force, not that my system requires it more than the others, for the advocates of each consider it to act upon the nerves of the eye, which supposes force, and force supposes substance; but, a system ought to be probable in itself, not merely less improbable than others; and that should be deemed the preferable one which best accounts for the phenomena of the subject."

"I consider the seat of vision to be composed of an immense number of the most minute nerves, each having its distinct course in the main optic nerve, and its distinct ending, in the residence of the sentient and percipient principle. Upon these, I consider the field of vision to be impressed in all the delicate variety of light and shade, and colour, in their just and relative proportions, by a pressure corresponding with each degree of light, shade and colour upon each nerve; which pressure is, at the same instant, upon their corresponding ends terminating in the brain, where the sentient and percipient principle receives the picture impressed."

"This exquisite sense, which, with the assistance of light, feels distant things, appears to me to be best accounted for, in all its innumerable varieties, by the delicate pressure of the different degrees

of light, with all its variations by shade and colour."

"The circumstance of all objects seeming to touch the eyes of persons who, after having been long blind, have recovered their sight, not only strongly supports the system of pressure, but also the opinion, that even this finest of the senses, acted on by distant objects, is a modification of feeling."

"A very brief consideration of the sense of hearing will conclude our subject. It may be proper to premise that I do not agree with the opinion that sound is of a vibratory nature. Though vibrations cause sound, sound itself appears to me to be rather of an undulatory nature, diverging from its source in irregular and imperfect globular circles, varying according to the conducting medium and the obstacles it meets with. These undulations, interrupting and intersecting each other, account for the confusion that is occasioned by many voices being heard at the same time."

"The undulations of sound appear to me to act upon the auditory nerve by pressure; and to be communicated to the sentient and percipient principle, as described in the consideration of the sense of seeing and the other senses."

"From one of your Encyclopedias I have made this extract. "Experiments on animals have prov-

" ed that we may break the tympanum in both " ears, yet not destroy the hearing, and only with " the temporary inconvenience of strong sounds " being for some time heard with a degree of pain " and uneasiness. Indeed there is a case on record, " where the tympanum of a man was destroyed " by an ulcer, and the auditory bones cut out, and " that without destroying the patient's hearing." This extract proves, that the tympanum is rather a defence against, and a moderator of violent sounds, than like a drum-head, to vibrate and so communicate them by that vibration, as it appears that the communications of sound are stronger without it. This is a strong proof, that the undulations of sound act by pressure upon the auditory nerves, as when the supposed instrument of vibration is destroyed, the sound, instead of decreasing, is increased."

" The system of pressure appears to me, to account for the phenomena of sight and hearing, on more simple and less objectionable principles than the other systems that have been noticed. It appears best adapted to both momentary and long continued sensations."

' If the system of vibration be less applicable and satisfactory than that of pressure, in the sense of hearing, (to which it would seem most to apply,) as the circumstance of the sensation of sound increasing on the breaking of the tympanum, induces me to conclude, it will scarcely be more applicable

to the circumstances of steady, moderate, and long-continued light in the sense of seeing."

"The system of retreating animal spirits, causing as it were beaten paths in some cases, appears to me less simple than we have reason to conclude the means of the Deity would be, in gaining an end; and unlike any conclusion which is warranted by analogy in the examination of his works, when a simpler and more efficacious one presents itself."

"In the galvanic system, it appears to me difficult to explain how light gives the sensation of sight, how a varied landscape is depicted in all its parts, by a galvanic stream; or how such, or any stream of galvanic fluid is evolved from the light and shade, and colours of objects of vision, and directed to the optic nerves; and applied to the sense of hearing, it requires that air, gently undulating with the impulse of sound, should not only have much more galvanic influence than still air, but also much more than air tossed by winds and tempests: on the principle of pressure, we can readily conceive that undulations, diverging in every direction, may have more power of impression upon nerves, so guarded as those of the ear, than violent currents of air in one direction, which cause no undulation in its body, except very partial ones where it meets with obstructions, when sound in proportion is produced."

"I have now, as well as I am able, explained the way in which I think the percipient and sentient principle in man, acts and receives impressions. I consider thought or reason, and sensation, to be the joint faculties of this distinct essence which rules the body; that where reason maintains its just ascendency, the soul, the man, is virtuous; and that where it deserts its station of command, and permits the gratification of sense to exceed proper and just bounds, and to divert it from its duties, it is vicious. And, finally, I believe, that this organized substance of the soul, so distinct in essence from the body, as *not to be tangible, or visible, or in any way discoverable by any of the senses, but only to the reflective power of its own peculiar nature*, is, unhurt by the most violent means of destruction the body is liable to, and is the subject of reward or punishment in future states of being."

CHAP. XII.

A SKETCH OF THE OPINIONS PREVALENT IN NEW BRITAIN, ON THE NATURE OF THE HUMAN WILL, INCLUDING SOME OF THEIR REMARKS ON THE ATTRIBUTES OF THE DEITY.

WE thus passed some weeks with this people, in the mornings employed in the healthy exercise of moderate labour, after which, a little attention to personal appearance, followed by the necessary duties of the schools, occupied the time till dinner, which is generally taken about one o'clock; after plentiful, but temperate repasts, the remainder of the days were spent in domestic pleasures, reading, conversation, philosophical research, or in various active exercises and amusements, contributing to health: every person acting as inclination prompted.

A few days after the conversation which is the subject of the last chapter, we were in one of the village libraries, when a conversation arose on the subject of free-will and necessity. It is usual for those who wish to converse, to withdraw from the libraries, but on this occasion, as all present seem-

ed desirous to hear or enter into the discussion, it was agreed, unanimously, to remain, in order to have the advantage of immediate reference to any authors that the libraries contained, who might render assistance towards untieing this knotty subject.

The reader is again reminded, that he must not expect method and correct arrangement, as I am here only narrating a desultory conversation on a subject of long, and probably, interminable disputation.

Sir George, who entered warmly into this subject, began by observing, that, the only question in dispute between the advocates for philosophical liberty, and those for necessity, was, whether or not volition can take place, independantly of motive? The advocates of free-will contend, that, in the same circumstances, and with inclinations exactly the same, a different selection can be made. For my part, I cannot comprehend how a different selection can be made, without a difference in the circumstances, or the judgment, or inclination; and consequently, I cannot conceive, how the will can be determined without a motive, and that motive influencing it in a determinate and invariable manner. Some author, whom I have read on this subject, but whose name I do not remember, says, "the will is as effectually determined by motives, when judgment and inclination concur in the choice, as when there are opposing motives, and the stronger prevails."

Mr. Naylor replied, "it is desirable that discussions of this nature shall be as brief as possible, otherwise, from the intricacy of the arguments used, the strongest minds may become bewildered, not so much from inability to decide upon the subject, as from the impossibility of silencing every little cavil upon it."

"In my opinion, the necessarians ascribe to motive what is will itself; or rather, will is included in the term motive. I consider all previous circumstances relating to an action, are only inducements, or incentives, not motives; and that the will deciding upon these, gives the motive of the action. Till the mind thus takes cognizance of inducements, and decides upon them, there is no motive. I readily agree, that there must be a motive for every voluntary action, but consider that volition precedes and gives the motive; and that the will, or mind, thus acting, is consequently a free agent. I think there can be no question as to whether volition can take place, independantly of motive, as in my judgment, there can be no motive independantly of will; consequently, the question should be:—can there be any motive independant of will? I answer, no; for till the will has decided, all previous circumstances are only incentives, or inducements."

"If, as my reasoning convinces me, the mind, willing upon the previous circumstances, produces the motive of action, it is impossible that the

motive should govern the will, when there really is no motive till the will has acted to produce it."

Sir George said, "could a man with views and inclinations precisely the same, and in circumstances exactly similar, make a different choice, that is, supposing them a second time presented to him? I conclude that he cannot."

Mr. N— replied, "it is not required by the principle of freewill that he should, for where the previous circumstances and judgment upon them are exactly the same, it would be bad reasoning, or immoral conduct in one of the instances, if he did. That a man could, there can be no doubt, otherwise the Deity is not merely the only moral agent, the sole author of vice and virtue, but he is also the only reasoning being; and men are but the puppets of the performance. You will remember, besides, that we believe the principle of freewill produces the motive, and consequently any difference arising from a different decision of the mind upon the same, or similar previous inducements, must be ascribed to its own power of freewill. It depends upon the will or mind, whether all that precedes an action, shall be exactly similar to a previous one, as upon the same inducements, the mind willing differently, gives a different motive."

"Freewill, is the mind determining upon the inducements and incentives to an action. If it be

as I am firmly persuaded, that there is no complete motive of action till this decision, and that all motives of action are decisions of the mind, certainly, the intelligent principle in man, is a free and responsible agent; or, in other words, man's will is free."

"To the reason for freewill, that the will determining gives the motive of action, may be added some others which I shall but lightly touch upon, as I have before expressed it as my opinion, that brevity is an important requisite in discussions of this kind."

Sir George earnestly requested Mr. Naylor to mention any other circumstance which occurred to his mind on the subject of freewill, as he had always thought it desirable that the will should be free, but had hitherto judged that the arguments, at least of theory, were against it. He said, he considered the position, that there is no motive till the will has decided upon the inducements or previous circumstances, as the strongest argument for philosophical freewill he had heard, and should be glad to hear of any other circumstances corroborating that opinion, before Mr. N— proceeded to the other evidences on the subject.

Mr. N— complied and proceeded as follows: "In circumstances precisely the same, up to the time of the mind's volition upon them, different volitions will of course make a difference in the

acts that follow, and consequently in the circumstances of the acts taken all together, by including the two different volitions which precede, and form the two motives, of the supposed opposite actions. This difference arises solely from the different volitions, that is, from the power of free volition; for where the inducements are equal to contrary actions, there can be no motive of action, till the will has decided; consequently the will gives the motive. I have supposed equal inducements for the sake of elucidation, but the will frequently decides against the stronger inducements, and thus gives a motive of action contrary to them. I am fully persuaded that all motives are from the mind, and that this circumstance constitutes freewill."

"The existence of a motive for an action is a particular state of mind; it proves its having willed. I do not contend, that with the same motive the action would be different, but, that with the same inducements the will can give a different motive. This is one of those self-evident facts which we, as it were, feel; and though we cannot give mathematical demonstration of them, we are satisfied that neither logic nor sophistry can disprove them."

"We can only examine those volitions which produce actions. Suppose, while I am now speaking, I see a friend passing, and recollect something which I would wish to say to him, and that at the same time I wish to continue speaking; I consider which

I had better do, I make my decision, that decision, or volition, is the motive of action, before it there were only inducements, no motive. Thus the mind, or its will, is the parent of motives, it gives them, and is responsible for them. To say the mind or will is ruled by motives, is to say, that it is the slave of its own offspring: the will precedes the motive, the motive precedes the action only."

"Perhaps there is no subject on which reason has made such slow advances as on this: not being able to define the actions of the mind, it is difficult to describe even what we are fully convinced of. The general conduct of mankind best determines the dispute: all men act on the principles of freewill. Actions speak every language in the most expressive manner; and, all the laws, customs, rewards, punishments, actions, and conversation of all mankind, are formed on the basis of freewill. The necessarians have not been able even to form a language suitable to their theory, which is certainly presumptive evidence against them; as it is highly probable, that truth rather than falsehood, on a subject which concerns every man, would, by the laws of our Just Creator, become the general impression or persuasion."

"With your leave, I will read two short clauses from this highly philosophical work before me, by Mr. Belsham, of London; in elucidation of what I have just said. He is endeavouring to prove, that freewill is dangerous to virtue: he quotes from

Mrs. Macaulay. The first clause says: "A be-
"lief in a self-determining power will encourage
"an inexperienced and thoughtless person to ven-
"ture, if curiosity or inclination prompt, into cir-
"cumstances of temptation and danger, because
"he conceives that he is possessed of a power
"sufficient to vanquish every motive to vice, and
"if his virtue has been subdued ever so often, he
"has no fear of exposing himself to the same
"trials, because he believes that in circumstances
"precisely the same, it will be in his power to make
"a different choice. And experience proves that
"multitudes are daily falling victims to this dan-
"gerous self-delusion."

"The second clause says. "On the other
"hand, the necessarian, who is true to his princi-
"ples, knows that whatever be the force of virtu-
"ous principles, and the stability of virtuous ha-
"bits, there are temptations which will overpower
"the most consummate virtue, and therefore he
"will not needlessly expose himself to any. And
"if he has found by experience, that in any given
"circumstances his virtuous resolutions have fail-
"ed, being assured by his principles, that in the
"same circumstances he will inevitably act again
"in the same manner, he will see that his only
"security consists in avoiding temptation."

"With respect to the first clause, how can the belief of being free encourage error, if the party be not free? To a necessary agent, this belief

could not make any difference, and this allowing that it can, is a distinct admission of free-will. The victims of self-delusion, cannot be the subjects of necessity. Here again, free-will is admitted, and is the language of the necessarian advocate. It is also said the belief in free-will will encourage an inexperienced and thoughtless person to venture, &c. which implies that the experienced and thoughtful would not be so liable; an admission that the mind when exerted, has a power over the conduct, or, in other words, that it wills freely."

"With respect to the second clause, I cannot understand how it is possible for temptations to overpower the most consummate virtue in, or to have any effect at all on a necessary agent. The writer at the end of the clause says, "he will see that his only security consists in avoiding temptation." The power of avoiding temptation, is free-will. Thus we may observe, notwithstanding their continual care, and the labour employed to keep within the supposed precincts of necessity, even in arguing for it, its advocates travel into the plains of free-will; and elicit the sparks of truth by the concussion of opinions. The libertarian sees, at least, as strongly as the necessarian, the propriety of avoiding temptation, for he has no excuse for giving way to temptation, by urging the necessity of his actions."

While Mr. N— was speaking, one of the villagers handed him a remark from Godwin, also

an English writer,—it is this: "when I speak of a "beautiful landscape, or an agreeable sensation, I "employ the language of panegyric. I employ it "still more emphatically, when I speak of a good "action; because I am *conscious, that the panegy-* "*ric to which it is justly entitled, has a tendency* "*to procure a repetition of such actions.* So far "as praise implies nothing more than this, it per- "fectly accords with the severest philosophy. So "far as it implies, that the man could have ab- "stained from the virtuous action which I applaud; "it belongs only to the delusive system of liberty."

"This language not only implies, but plainly asserts, that praise has a tendency to procure a repetition of the act praised; which means, or it means nothing, that praise makes an alteration in favour of the repetition of the actions praised; that is, it alters the system of necessity in some measure.

"The language of nature ever did, and ever will imply freedom of action and determination, and consequently praises virtue and censures vice; and all the talents of the necessarians must fail to prove, that this language of nature is not the language of truth."

"Here is another passage worthy of notice in the last mentioned writer, it is this: "How few, though, corporally speaking, they were witnesses of what was done, would justly describe my mo-

tives, and properly report and interpret my words." Motives are here used as the marks or causes of criminality or innocence. Does not this and all such expressions and reasonings, (which are the common and every-day occurrences of life) admit that the mind gives the motive? When we speak of a man's motives, we consider his secret and previous determination on the subject in question; a proof that, while unsophisticated, we admit that the mind gives the motive."

"It is no answer to say, 'that the consciousness that we act freely, is exactly like the persuasion of all ignorant people, that the earth is still, and that the sun revolves round it.' The consciousness of acting freely is a conviction of the mind; the apparent stillness of the earth, and motion of the sun, is a law of nature, which the sensient principle of man cannot penetrate. As knowledge advances, reason rectifies the erroneous conclusion in the latter case; but the reasoning of all ages has not removed the general conviction of almost all men, in the former one; on the contrary, all the reasoning which I can understand, is in favour of free-will."

"I feel decidedly conscious, that with the strongest incentives and inclination to do an action, I can will to act otherwise; and that my will, thus deciding, is the free and independant author of the motive of the action which follows."

"Men, judging without prejudice, will allow, that the greatest earthly friend to virtue, is, the persuasion, that we have the power of being virtuous; its greatest foe, the opinion that we act from necessity. On the persuasion of the truth of the principles of free-will, I shall continue to regulate my life, till there are far more convincing reasons produced for necessity, than any I have yet heard or read of."

Mr. E. being referred to for his opinion, said, "it appears that the great cause of the error of the doctrine of necessity continuing so long, is, that volition is supposed to follow motive, which I consider is not the truth. The fact appears to me to be thus: certain circumstances precede an act, the mind (or the will, which is an act of the mind) determines upon them, what shall be the course of action, and this determination is the motive of the action. Thus it is that the motive of action is the result of volition, not volition of the motive. The free-will act of the mind, always takes place before the motive of action is complete; the complete, and indeed the whole motive, depending upon the judgment and determination of the mind, upon the preceding circumstances."

"The simple progress of a voluntary action, appears to be this, the inducements to it are presented to the mind, which wills upon them; this willing produces, or is the motive of action. Thus

the paraded truth, that there can be no voluntary action without a motive still holds good, but yields not its service to necessity; nor reduces man to a mere machine; but exalts him into a being responsible for his actions; to whom virtue and vice are not mere distinctions of words, without any moral difference; but the realities that men naturally feel them to be, when they enact laws to punish the last, and trace the volumes of immortality, as the just reward of eminence in the first."

"There is no motive of action, till the mind has willed or decided upon the preceding circumstances, there are only inducements for some action; when the act of the mind (the will) has determined the one that shall ensue, there is a motive for the action which follows."

"The Great Intelligence, who is the author of nature, gives direct countenance to the law and doctrine of liberty, by its prevalence in His creation. Were we the absolute slaves of a system of necessary consequences, it would be folly that the ideas of liberty, justice, injustice, error, &c. should prevail, their exclusion should have been a first law, a necessary consequence: but, under the system of rational liberty, it is perfectly consistent, that the error of necessity, among others, should partially exist."

Mr. Naylor now resumed the conversation. "It is presumption in men, who do not understand

themselves, to attempt to define the attributes of the Deity; yet, even this presumption must be partially exercised in the pursuit of our subject; as the next great argument in favour of necessity, to the will being ruled by motives, is, the prescience of God; it is concluded, that where there is prescience, there must be necessity; as what is absolutely foreknown must necessarily follow."

"The Omnipotent and Allwise Author of universal nature is the master, not the slave, of his attributes. He has each of them so perfectly under his control, as completely to prevent their interference with each other. With the power of prescience, he possesses the power of not foreseeing; with the power of Omniscience, he has the power of declining knowledge; with the power of Omnipresence, he possesses the power of local existence, and local absence; if not, where is his Omnipotence? The being that can be compelled, even by his own greatness, is not Omnipotent: Omnipotence can refrain from acting or knowing. The Deity is self-existent, and the author of his own attributes; and has taken care that they shall serve him, and be under his absolute control and command in all cases. Those who consider him to act necessarily, under any one of the attributes of Prescience, Omniscience, or Omnipresence, rob him of Omnipotence. I believe the justice of the Deity, like the attribute of Omnipotence, is never infringed upon: God can, if he will, be unjust; but he is superior to it, he will not be so: it is most

suitable to the state of our knowledge, and to truth to say, God will be just; God will not be unjust. It may be asked, in what possible case could God be unjust? To this I would answer, God would be unjust, if he created man with, or gave him, false hopes; as he would be, if, with the universal hope of immortality, he had not created him with a soul, whose nature was suited for it; or if, with the general conviction of freewill, he had withheld the power."

"If Omnipotence in God, means the highest power we can conceive, then, he is not obliged to be always prescient; he has the power to foreknow, or to leave things unobserved, as he wills. It is not only possible, but most probable, that he leaves the race of man, under the general providence of his laws of nature, to their own guidance; as he can look into, and read their minds at pleasure: it is thus, that the virtues and vices of men are their own; and that God is not, as the system of necessity implies, the immediate or ultimate cause of all the actions, contemptible or vicious, as well as virtuous, of all mankind. Omnipotence can make man a free agent; and as a free state may be considered to be more honourable to the Creator and the created, than a system of necessity would be, there can be no doubt, even if there were no other proofs of it, of the truth of the free agency of man."

"A system of necessity would rob God of all

his attributes, for necessary consequences are not attributes."

"That general consciousness of free-will, which we have before noticed, as operating in all the laws, actions, and language of mankind, proves, that if we derive our nature from a just God, we must be free agents; for a Just Creator, would never deceive us in a matter of such great importance to all mankind. If God is just, man is free.'.

"Of what utility could the general and continual, or indeed any employment of prescience be, in a system of necessity; for, foreseeing evil, it could not prevent it. Even the God of a necessary system would be helpless, powerless."

"The Deity cannot be Omnipotent, if he is obliged by necessity to continual attention, though the objects were all of the greatest, most perfect and diversified nature: it cannot then be supposed, that he is obliged to witness all the vice of mankind; yet this would be the case in a system, where his prescience caused necessity in man. Omnipotence can look on or off events at pleasure. If God is Omnipotent, he could make men free; if he is just, he has made them so: that the Deity is Omnipotent and Just, I have no doubt; and with such supports for the stability of the doctrine of free-will, I cannot doubt the truth of this."

That I may not be misunderstood on the sub-

ject of Omnipresence, from what I have before said, permit me to say, in explanation, that I consider the Deity can be present where he determines to be, at any time; but that he is not obliged to be present everywhere at all times; for, continual and necessary Omnipresence, would be cramped and confined by its own immensity, and is inconsistent with the attribute of Omnipotence. The power of Omnipotence to penetrate all nature at will, as it were, with the glance of an eye, answers perhaps, every purpose of Omnipresence. I cannot believe, God to be present in those scenes which disgrace mankind; they at once, in my conception, prove the power of absence in the Deity, and that men are free; or they would disgrace the laws of necessity which ruled them, and consequently their author. A just God could not permit vice, but on the principles of free-will.

" God, as a just and good being, had he made men necessary agents, must likewise have made them uniformly good and virtuous: but, having made men free agents, his justice is in no way compromised by their mixed conduct; for they, being free, are responsible beings. Supposing man to be a necessary agent, yet capable of vice and virtue, the vice and virtue belong to the compelling power, not to the necessary agent; and we must, on this system, suppose God capable of vice. May we not then conclude from this, that as we know mankind to be made up of virtue and vice, and

God to be a just being, that man must certainly be free?"

"I believe that vice is permitted, and contrasted to virtue, for the purpose of probation to man, who is a free agent; which is no way incompatible with the goodness of the Deity. The evil we commit, will increase the severity of mental suffering, and the good we perform, will enhance the exquisite pleasures of the mind, by the consciousness of each being the result of our own free conduct: this is the only reward or punishment, necessary to a superior state of intellect. Thus may permitted vice itself become a good, by enhancing the value of the rewards of the virtuous, who rejected its practice; and even those who suffer the punishment it induces, may eventually, when they have become virtuous and happy, have their happiness increased by the contrast of their former misery; so as to be only inferior to those, who possess the consciousness of having never been the objects of punishment: thus evincing, at once, the justice and the benevolence of our Creator."

"In concluding this subject, it may not be improper to observe, that I consider, moral and natural evil, not inconsistent with the justice of the Great Author of All; nor, with the perfection of the great whole of his creation. If the conduct of men, were in all cases just and reasonable, and pain, sickness, and decay, unknown among them;

and the air for ever temperate and salubrious, producing eternal spring and autumn, dancing hand in hand, we should be immortal here; and at the first view, with such a world, who would wish it otherwise? Mark the sequel: very soon this limited globe would be full to the utmost extent of its capabilities; but would men then, created with the passion of love, be for ever content to forego its gratification? They certainly would not. Need I, after your thoughts have been for a moment directed to the miseries of immortality here, describe the suffocation of eternal crowds, the pains of eternal want and hunger, and the dreadful conclusion to every one, of this state being eternal; and consequently, that even hope could hold out no prospect of relief, could see nothing in futurity, but interminable and increasing misery? Need I, after you have thus thought, say, that our Creator has done right in opening the gates of death, and, through them, the path to an immortality free from these evils? Or, need I say that God is just?"

CHAP. XIII.

OF THE PROGRESS OF THE NEW BRITONS IN MECHANICAL IMPROVEMENTS, AND THEIR GENERAL OPINION ON THE EFFECT OF ATMOSPHERIC PRESSURE UPON EVAPORATION, &c.

THE progress of the New Britons in mechanical science is very great, and its application has been in proportion. They apply all the generally useful machinery of Europe, in addition to their own inventions. Machinery does not here, by the rapidity with which it completes the objects of labour, enrich a few, and deprive many of the means of procuring the necessaries of life, as are its miserable effects in other countries. Its introduction, on the contrary, increases the leisure and the comforts of this people; who have, by their wise institutions, a competence secured to every one.

They are acquainted with almost all the scientific discoveries of Europeans; and as nature is every where the same, the scientific of every

country, who read it truly, come to the same conclusions. It is therefore only necessary to notice, in this narrative, those subjects on which the New Britons differ in opinion from the philosophers of Europe.

I shall therefore, on this head, only mention a conversation which took place between Sir George, who is conversant in researches of this kind, and Mr. Ellisson, the subject of which was, the effect the atmosphere has upon evaporation: and add an opinion which Mr. E— gave on the probable cause of the production of heat by friction.

Sir George supported the European opinion, that, but for the pressure of the atmosphere, all fluids would fly off by evaporation.

Mr. E— said, "the impression which facts make upon my mind, induces me to conclude the reverse of this to be the truth; that is, that without the atmosphere, we should have no evaporation at all; consequently no rain, or dews, which circulate as the life blood of our world; and almost no heat, which this beautiful and transparent clothing of our planet so efficiently retains for our comfort, and for the necessities of our existence."

Sir George said, "one of the writers in the Encyclopedia Perthensis, says, on this subject, "many substances would not even exist in a solid "form, unless prevented from changing to a state

"of vapour by the pressure of the atmosphere." And some philosophers have asserted that, "if all "pressure from the atmosphere were entirely re "moved, all substances on the face of the earth, "solid as well as fluid, would be dissipated in "vapour."

Mr. E— said, "I consider, if a volume of air could be made heavier than water, and water confined with it so as not to fly off in vapour, the water would float upon the air: it is thus that the clouds float upon that part of the atmosphere which is denser than they. I conclude, that the heavier the atmosphere, the greater its power of assisting, not preventing evaporation; the greater its power of insinuating itself beneath fluid and other substances, and thus causing them to rise, and that this power is in exact proportion to its specific gravity."

"The air in the neck of a bottle containing a fluid which has produced a quantity of fixed air, becomes, by receiving the portion of this air that is evolved, and by being confined, of equal density and elastic force with that in the liquid, and thus presses it to stillness."

"Sir George remarked, "this is favourable to our European opinion. Remove the cork, and with it the additional weight of this artificial pressure, and the dense air rushes out with violence. How would it rush out if the bottle were placed in vacuum,

that is, if we had no atmosphere? I think this is an unanswerable case in our favour."

Mr. E— replied, "you may possibly think otherwise when you have heard me to the end. You ask, how it would rush out if we had no atmosphere. I will first observe how it acts in the atmosphere, and then give you my opinion how it would act without one, or in vacuum. The moment the stopper is removed, the air rushes out, taking with it, in its violent motion, some of the liquid: they ascend a little height together, the air divides from the liquid and expands to the density of the atmosphere, and the impulse which forced the liquid up, being exhausted, it falls to the ground. It is probably owing to the superior density and elastic force of the air in the bottle, that the liquid, not in a state of vapour, is thus forced up."

"Without an atmosphere, meeting with no resistance, but that of gravitation, the liquid forced out with the air would rise much higher, and with greater vivacity; the air would expand to the utmost of its elastic power, the liquid would fall with a rapidity increased by two causes; first, from its rising higher, and the consequent greater impetus it would acquire in descending; but still more from the second, its receiving no support in, nor meeting with any impediment to its descent. Vacuum would be favourable to motion, but unequal to sustaining even the lightest particles

arising by evaporation, or otherwise. While the power of gravitation continues, all substances at liberty will arrange themselves by their several specific gravities; to which law, water, vapour, and atmospheric air, form no exception."

"It may be said that rising without an atmosphere, vapour would never stop, having no opposition. But this is giving the atmospheric pressure the power which belongs to gravitation. Why, on this principle, does any thing cast, or rising upwards ever return, as the atmospheric resistance is less above than below it? The truth appears to be, that gravitation is the same, whether we have atmospheric air, or vacuum; and that all fluid substances, which are not adhesive in themselves, nor adhering to others, do, where they have not that affinity as to make them intimately unite together, arrange themselves according to their respective specific gravities: the most important of these are atmospheric air, vapour and water."

"Bodies light enough to float at a considerable height in our atmosphere, such as clouds and dew, would fall impetuously were it removed."

"The density of the atmosphere decreasing gradually as it supports a less volume of incumbent air, is the cause why clouds ride high or low; varying according to their own density, and that of the atmosphere. Were the atmosphere removed, there would be no clouds, for there being nothing to

support them, they would fall to the earth, and there remain."

Sir George observed, that he had read in some chemical work, which he could not recollect, an experiment to prove that all water would be dissipated in vapour with very low degrees af heat, if we had no atmosphere. It is this, "take a bottle with a long neck, let it be filled with boiling water, and corked close, so as to exclude the air. Then let it stand in cold water, and the water will sink in the neck of the bottle as it cools. This depression of the hot water will produce a vacuum in the neck of the bottle, and the water will re-commence boiling violently." This is owing to the pressure of the atmosphere being removed. Water in vacuum will boil heated only to 67°, which is 145 degrees below the degree at which it boils in the open air.

Mr. E— replied, "this may be accounted for without admitting that vacuum would promote evaporation. We may conclude the vacuum thus produced is moderately perfect, as the water by boiling had parted with most of its air before it was confined, and all resistance being thus removed, the internal motion of the water from the remaining heat causes the boiling motion, at a degree far below that which would be required in the open air. But you must allow, Sir, that this is *merely motion*, and that there is *no evaporation*. It is thus that we may be deceived by appearances, for we

know in this instance, that, with all the motion of boiling, the usual evaporation attending it in the open air, cannot possibly take place: so far from its proving that evaporation is facilitated by vacuum, we have here none at all. If there were any, the vapour must immediately fill up so small a vacuum, and suppress the motion by its known elastic power. It evidently only bubbles and descends more readily, and we have no reason to conclude that it would do otherwise upon a larger scale. In short, the fair inference from this experiment appears to be, that, with all the appearances of rapid evaporation, there is not the least, from there being no atmosphere to support it; and that we have a right to conclude, that if our globe were without an atmosphere, we should then have *no* evaporation."

"This experiment also proves, that water, in these circumstances, does not evolve much air, or the vacuum could not take place, but would be filled up as fast as produced."

"Water in vacuum, producing the boiling motion with greater vivacity from an equal or less impulse than in the atmosphere, may be compared to casting a stone in air, and another in water; that cast in air, will, from equal force, move farther and quicker, and will fall more rapidly, than the one cast in water: the lighter medium, which facilitated the motion, will also facilitate a proportionably more impetuous descent."

"A balloon could not rice without an atmosphere of greater specific gravity, than its own bulk; which pressing below the lighter body, causes its elevation. Every particle of vapour is a balloon, and vapours and balloons would all equally be fixed upon the earth, were there no atmosphere. Evaporation could not possibly take place without it: nothing can support nothing."

"From the experiments of some Aëronauts, it appears that the air is much drier in the higher regions of the atmosphere, than it is near the surface of the earth. Having ascended beyond the usual range of the clouds, the higher we ascend, the drier we find the air to be. Does not this want of moisture in regions where the atmosphere is lighter, prove, that without it, we should have no evaporation? Our barometers also proclaim the same principle; speaking generally, with a heavy atmosphere we have vapours ascending, and with a light one we have them descending."

"The theory, that the pressure of the atmosphere prevents the entire evaporation of the water on the face of the earth, is not probable; for, on this principle, that vapour which attains an elevation where the pressure of the atmosphere is much less than on the surface of the earth, which it leaves, should be accelerated in its motion upwards; and this acceleration should increase with the decrease of pressure, till it gets clear of all impediments

from our atmosphere: thus on *this principle*, and as the atmosphere is constituted, all the water should, in succession, quickly fly off from the surface of the earth."

"The theory of the atmospheric pressure preventing, or checking the tendency of water to evaporate, requires, the atmosphere above the clouds to be denser, and to have more pressure than below them, to prevent their rising without end; and thus, also requires the law of gravitation to be reversed in it."

"On my theory, that the atmosphere is one of the chief causes of, and necessary to evaporation, the phenomena of clouds are accounted for in a more simple manner, by their arranging themselves in the atmosphere according to their relative specific gravities. The causes of rain, or fair weather, may also be accounted for more consistently."

"The atmosphere does not only facilitate evaporation by its being a proper medium wherein vapour may rise, but also by its power of retaining caloric. I consider, that if the atmosphere was suddenly withdrawn from our globe, the caloric it contains near its surface, would be rapidly evolved, and all would become one frozen mass. The heat of the sun would be much less efficient, and would depart with its rays, and cold would

resume its horrific reign without any amelioration. It is probable, that by means of the different degrees of density of their atmospheres, that the planets of a system, including the nearest to and the most distant from their sun, have their temperatures regulated to the state which their Great Creator intended."

"The quiescent state of the spirits in a Thermometer, where there is a vacuum proves, that without an atmosphere all evaporations would cease."

"It may be said, that vapour having no surrounding compression, would dilate to infinity, but of this we have no proof; and all analogy and the experiments we have recited, are against it. The air, which is the most elastic fluid we know of, in its natural state, has evidently a limit to its expansive power; for all beyond the circuit of the atmosphere is open to its dilation, yet it does not fly off, or expand to infinity. The atmospheric air, like other substances, is subject to the laws of attraction or gravitation."

"The evaporation of water, at all temperatures, and even with freezing winds, gives rise to an opinion, that, as caloric is evolved from water, or moistened substances, it carries off particles of water by evaporation, which mount into the atmosphere till they arrive at that part of it which is of equal density with them."

"The principal part of evaporation in nature takes place at low, or common temperatures, at which temperatures, water, and even spirits, give no vapour in vacuum. If then water, a little above the freezing point, does not evaporate in vacuum, while it does in the atmosphere, it strongly proves that without an atmosphere, there would be no evaporation; and not, as is asserted, an excessive degree of it."

"From what has been said, the evident conclusion, to my judgment, is, that after the heat which gives the first impulse, we must look for the cause of the evaporation of fluid substances, to a fluid medium; and to that medium being of greater density than they are, in their state of evaporation, by which it presses below them, and thus forced, they rise upward. That we must look for the prevention of excessive or injurious evaporation to the rarefied state of the air in the superior regions of the atmosphere being unable to support its denser produce; and to the consequent collection of that produce in its lower regions becoming so crowded as to unite, and thus condensing and becoming specifically heavier than the supporting medium, and falling in dew, rain or snow: to which may be added, the increasing coldness of the progressively lighter atmosphere of the upper regions, depriving vapour of its caloric."

"At low temperatures, particles of water, by means unknown to us, collect, or have infused into

them, a sufficient quantity of latent caloric, to raise them to a state of vapour. This caloric of evaporation appears to be extracted from the atmosphere and the water which remains, in different proportions according to their relative temperatures; in this way also, in addition to its density, as a medium, the atmosphere assists the progress of evaporation."

"I should not have said so much upon this subject but for my believing it to be the sacred duty of every man, to correct as much as possible, any philosophical opinion which to him appears to be erroneous; even if he were exposed to the jeering of European critics; for it is impossible to conceive how many other errors an incorrect conclusion, on one subject, may give rise to, in its various ramifications, bearings and connections. Added to this, if he is himself in error, the liberal-minded will doubtless set him right; and thus where he fails to give, he may receive, the benefit of information. He who lights but a taper of truth, will more facilitate the researches of science, than he who displays the most brilliant fireworks of fancy."

Sir George, who appeared, as did the rest of the company, to be convinced of the truth of Mr. E—'s opinion, now asked him if he had any idea how heat is produced by friction, particularly where both substances are incombustible.

Mr. E— said, "I should consider the heat produced by friction, to be caused by the quick succession of rapid compressions of the intervening air, which is continually caught between the substances by the motion. The production of light and heat by the rapid compression of air, with the piston of an air-gun, appears favourable to my opinion. Also, the water thrown upon a grind-stone preventing heat, appears to me to produce this effect by filling up the smallest part of the angle formed by the stone and the substance applied, and thus preventing a con tinual succession of rapid pressures upon small portions of air."

Sir George observed, that some writers had ascribed it to the agency of electricity.

To this Mr. E— replied, "I shall be always ready to subscribe to any theory which accounts in a simpler manner than the one I may have previously adopted for the phenomena of this or any other subject of scientific investigation. Where science has not progressed to proof, I judge that theory to be the best, by which the phenomena of the subject investigated are accounted for in the simplest manner."

"I shall only add, that it is probable the electric fluid is only the latent caloric which is diffused through the atmospheric air and vapour, drawn out, or extracted in a peculiar manner.

CHAP. XIV.

A SHORT ABSTRACT OF THE HISTORY OF THE NEW BRITONS.

HAVING become very desirous to know the history of this people, and when and how they first settled in so remote a country, I requested one of the inhabitants to relate to me the chief circumstances of it; to which he readily assented. It is from the notes I made of this conversation, that I compile the few particulars which I am enabled to give the reader: and having collated this account with their printed history, he may rest assured, that though deficient of particulars, it is essentially correct. I had their complete history presented to me, together with many other valuable books and documents, which would have added greatly to the correctness and importance of this narrative, but they were unfortunately lost on my return from the country, in fording one of the rivers, by the breaking of the girth of the horse which carried my large portmanteau, which was entirely filled with books and some singular fossil productions. The fossils were the cause of its sinking rapidly, and the rapi-

dity of the current having driven it down the stream, we could not find it, though we tried all the means in our power.

I had fortunately never parted with my portfolio, which contained my notes, from my person, and I thus preserved the imperfect account which I am enabled to give of the history, manners, customs, laws, and general economy, of this interesting people. The narrative of my informant was as follows.

"When Henry the Eighth, of England, attained the title of 'Defender of the Faith,' by writing in favour of the church of Rome, many respectable northern families, who had embraced the principles of the reformation, had, by their commercial connections with the reformers of the European continent, become so zealous in the cause, as to alarm the neighbouring priests. The priesthood, emboldened by the avowed attachment of the king to their cause, commenced numerous and grievous prosecutions against them, involving various pains and penalties. Disgusted at not being allowed freedom of opinion in religion, and many of the younger branches, who had married, finding it difficult to get forward in life, so as to maintain themselves on an equality of condition to their parents in society; it was determined, after many consultations, to emigrate, but as privately as possible. Having heard favourable accounts of the soil and climate, as well as of the friendly dis-

position of the natives of America; and also that there were vast tracts of land unoccupied, which might be bought for a few knives and hatchets, it was the country determined upon for the purpose."

"It being suspected, that if their intention transpired, they would be prevented from going, several of the most respected of the reformers went round to the others, and took their vows and oaths of secrecy; which, aided by the bond of a persecuted religion, were inviolably kept."

"The plan finally determined upon was, that the younger branches of all the families should go first, taking with them their wives and children; and if the troubles about religious freedom continued, the old people were to follow; if not, they were to continue at home, and lay their bones in their native country: but as they valued the welfare of their children, they were on no account to permit their destination to transpire. The consideration that old age and infirmity, which were fast coming upon many of them, would impede rather than assist the interests of a colony, was the cause of this arrangement."

"Every necessary preparation being made, and a solemn and religious leave being taken of their aged parents and relations, our forefathers embarked in eleven ships, with their wives and children, as privately as possible. Their plan was this, they gave out that they were bound to the

neighbouring continent, to dispose of, and barter with their cargoes, and having provided all things which, from the best information they could collect, they considered the most requisite and useful, both for the formation of a settlement, and for barter with the natives, they got their women and children on board, under the pretence of taking leave of them, and then set sail in the night."

"They sailed in the month of February, that they might have the spring as well as the summer before them, as they judged it to be of great importance to them to be able to get a crop, even though it should be but a small one, in the first year. They were well aware of the difficulties attending the formation of a settlement; and judged, that if they could arrive at such a time, as to draw the principal part of their first year's subsistence from the soil, they should be able to take out a great many more necessary and useful implements, arms, ammunition, ironmongery useful in building, and clothing, than they should otherwise be able to do, and which articles, it would be a longer time before they should be in a state to provide among themselves."

"They had a prosperous voyage of five weeks and three days, and landed near to where New York now stands. Nine days after their arrival, and while they were examining the country for the best place to settle in, a vessel, which they had expected, arrived, after a quick passage of thirty-four

days, with the unlooked-for information of a change in the councils of the king; and that it was now perfectly safe for them to return, all danger of being troubled about religious matters being at an end. They were further informed, that if they determined to stay, they were not to expect their friends to follow them, who had now the prospect of living and dying in the peaceable exercise and enjoyment of their religion."

"A general consultation was now held, in which it was determined to continue in the country to which they had been driven; and, as they had now no expectation of the arrival of their friends from England, their chief inducement for settling on the coast no longer remained; they therefore intimated to their friends, who had declined to join them, that they should proceed up the country. Their reasons for this determination were, the very friendly conduct of all the natives whom they had yet seen, and the confidence they felt, from observing their arms, that they were more than a match for any number of them; their observation according with their information, that they lived in small tribes; and the greater dread our ancestors had of an attack from an European power."

"Contemplating the probability of their remaining in the land of their adoption, after they had incurred so much expense in getting there, which must have been severely felt by them, had they returned, their friends sent out, beside what they had

expected to receive, a very considerable addition to their store of gunpowder, arms, cutlery, all sorts of useful ironmongery, nails, and implements for building and husbandry."

"They now dismissed the ships, which were navigated by their friends and those naturally interested in their welfare, with the agreeable intelligence to those at home, that they had found a country abounding in game, very promising as to its soil and climate, and of which they could buy a sufficient portion for a large township for a small package of cutlery."

"After diligent examination and consideration of all circumstances, they fixed upon the spot where the town of Pompey now stands, being the highest ground of that part of the country, and which divides the waters which flow into the bay of Chesapeake and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, for the situation of their town. They soon made an agreement for it, and also for a very extensive territory all around; for which they gave a few grosses of knives, some hatchets, a few blankets, and some other trifles."

"They surmounted no inconsiderable difficulties in getting their wives and children, and their various stores to this place. But harassing as these were, they now found they were commencing a series of still greater difficulties. They had land to cultivate, and a town to build; the first to prevent

famine, and the other to shelter them from the cold, in the winter of an untried climate. With the true spirit of Englishmen, their exertions rose with their difficulties. They first erected a very limited number of tents, which they had brought with them; and then began to plough and dig up as much land as they thought necessary to sow with barley, oats, beans, turnips, and the few horticultural articles to which they were accustomed, as their principal object was to secure a sufficient quantity of food. They now commenced their town, in which, for the first year, they found that they must be content with small wood huts covered with rough boards, the crevices of which, they filled up with clay; their timber being all green, even if they had had bricks prepared, it would have been imprudent to use them."

"To prevent surprise from wild beasts, or from the possible treachery of the Indians, they erected a strong wooden fence, which formed a triangle with the deep ravines which protected them on the north and the east sides, and enclosed a considerable extent of land. Within this, they generally kept their horses, cattle, and sheep, or drove them into at night after they had been out pasturing. They also built three very small wooden towers on the inside of this fence, of considerable elevation, in which they placed men to watch during the night, when they suspected any danger, and some of the women performed that office during the day while the men were at labour."

"The number of our forefathers who came from Old England was seven hundred and forty-three men, only four of whom were unmarried; seven hundred and thirty-nine women, all married, the far greater part of whom were young and had been but a short time married; and six hundred and seventy-three youths and children, some of whom were fast approaching to maturity. Thus began the people whom you are now with. They were for many years very prosperous, and had few things to complain of, beside the severity of their labour during the first three or four years, till they had completed their town, and inclosed sufficient land for their agriculture. Their chief misfortune in the first year was the death of their priest, who died suddenly; it was the only death of that year among the men, and the event had a considerable influence upon their subsequent conduct. Not being able to provide a successor to him, they had recourse to reading the Scriptures to each other; and after a few years they came to a general resolution, to follow their precepts as a rule of life, without public comment or disputation."

"For more than forty years they were very prosperous, having no disputes with the natives worth noticing. But unfortunately, in the forty-third year of the settlement, a misunderstanding arose, through the death of one of the natives, who was killed in the town, in an affray, arising from intoxication in the deceased. It appeared that the deceased, the son of a powerful chief, had, with

his companions taken too freely of some brandy, distilled in the country, which was set before them, in consequence of which, they became extremely violent, and attacked some of the townsmen, one of whom, killed him in defending himself."

"The native chief, demanded the life of the man who had killed his son, and also the lives of two others, from a perverted and savage notion of honour, that their revenge might, as he said, be satisfied. A general consultation was immediately held in a large square plot of ground, in the centre of the town, when it was resolved in the most unanimous manner, that the law of nature justified their townsman in what he had done, and that therefore, they would not deliver up an innocent man to death. As soon as this determination was known, the unfortunate and no less generous individual who had been the unintentional cause of the difficulty, and whose name was Bell, came forward and offered himself a free sacrifice for the good of the settlement. But this noble offer was unanimously refused. 'No!' said they, "we cannot allow a brave and innocent man to sacrifice himself for what is equally the cause of every one, and for that which might have happened to any of us." It was further suggested, that any concession might be construed by the natives into a proof of fear, and it was therefore determined to go no further than to express their sorrow for the death of the young man, who had fallen through his own

rashness, and to offer some presents of considerable value to the Indians, on the pretence of honouring his funeral."

"This decision being made known to the native chief, excited in him the most violent rage, and he unequivocally vowed the most deadly revenge. He said, "that the son of a great warrior should not die without being properly revenged; and that, as his reasonable request had been refused, he would rid the country of a people, who attempted to promulgate new and inadmissible notions of honour."

"A month had not elapsed, before the neighbourhood was found to be overrun with indians, and soon after, four of our people were murdered in the fields, being surprised while attending their agricultural employments. It now became necessary to have a strong party in the fields, to keep watch while the corn was reaping, and immediately to draw it within the defences of the town. It was also necessary to repair and strengthen the whole line of defence. In this manner the latter part of the summer and the autumn of that year were passed. Our people did not fear the Indians in battle, as they had fortunately, most carefully avoided letting the natives have any of their fire-arms, which gave them a decided superiority over them. They had also plenty of gun-powder, having found saltpetre in some of the caves up the country, and also sulphur, which the Indians had

permitted them to collect and bring home for a few trifling presents, and with which they established a manufactory of that essential article. A large proportion of the first settlers were mechanics and manufacturers in the most useful articles of life, and having brought out all the books of arts and science that the time afforded, they were enabled, by experiments and industry, to make many improvements. They had been particularly careful to provide their rapidly increasing numbers with arms, to be ready for any possible need. Having, during a few of the first years of their settlement, provided almost all their animal food by the chase, to permit the greater increase of their cattle and sheep, the love of this employment had grown up with them; which was of the double advantage of inuring them to the labour, of traversing the woods and savannahs, which obliged them frequently to sleep round fires in the open air, and rendered them familiar with the use of fire-arms."

Thus were our people well prepared for any probable attack upon them. And, it happened in the latter part of October, when they were no longer much employed in the fields, that the Indians, it was supposed, finding themselves consequently disappointed of an opportunity for gratifying their thirst of revenge, collected in great numbers, and, assisted by numerous adherents, made a desperate attack upon the town; which was repulsed with great loss to the assailants. But

the most important circumstance of this attack, was a daring attempt of the old chief, assisted by some other chiefs, and numerous followers, to take our citadel, or chief tower, which was situated on the highest ground of the town. They had for this purpose, under the concealment of the night, made an opening through a strong and high wall, which served as an outer defence, and when first discovered, were attempting to force the gates leading to the inner court of the place. With a promptitude, that evinced courage, coolness, decision, and solid judgment, the commander immediately placed a strong company on each side of the gates, and ordered all the fastenings of the gates to be removed, except one very slight one. The consequence of this was, that the Indians soon forced the gates and rushed in, in an impetuous and disorderly manner, to the number of nearly a hundred, before they discovered the danger of their situation. The two companies before mentioned, suddenly closed the gates upon them, and cut off all means of retreat; and the commander advancing with a strong force in their front, they were obliged to surrender at discretion."

"This was a very important advantage, there being three chiefs of note taken beside the one who caused the war. A general council of the inhabitants was immediately called to determine what was best to be done. It was considered, that to give the Indians their freedom, in the pre-

sent irritated state of their passions, would most probably be of no avail as a mean of pacification. To kill them, was too horrible to be thought of, though it might have been plausibly excused by their having killed all those of our people who had fallen into their hands. It was at length resolved, to hold them as hostages till some final arrangement could be made."

"During this state of things, the surrounding Indians kept burning the barns upon the adjoining land, and were only deterred by our threatening to kill their chiefs and friends, in our power, in case they continued this practice. It was by this time plainly perceived, that though our people could always beat them in the field, they might be reduced to great extremities by the enemy destroying the crops. To follow them into their wilds would have been in vain, as they could flee faster than our men could pursue; and all the country was alike to them, they not regarding a settled place of habitation. To kill their chiefs, whom our people had in their power, could the thought have been for a moment entertained, would have only rendered their friends more desperate for revenge; and to free them, would have been to strengthen those who could not be trusted."

"Thus situated, our people began seriously to think of removing, great as the sacrifice must certainly be, and presenting unknown dangers and difficulties. A general consultation was there-

fore called to hear and ascertain the opinions of all, as to the expediency of removal in the first instance; and in case it should be determined upon, to consult upon the most promising place to settle in. A removal was almost unanimously resolved on, but where to retire to, was a question, which presented the most serious difficulties. In this dilemma one of our people, who from a peculiarity of disposition had spent about thirty years of his life in associating with the Indians, and in travelling from one nation to another, stood up and offered to be their guide and interpreter, if they thought proper to go to a fertile country which he described, and which he said, was situated in the neighbourhood of very peaceable Indians; in their road to which, there was only one tribe whom they would have to pass, who would be disposed to molest them, which should they attempt, a few hundred men, armed as our people were, might entirely destroy, if they thought proper. In addition to this, he said, that the place he alluded to was well adapted for defence, beyond any he had ever seen, and that there all fear of starving might be banished, as they might kill as many buffaloes in the neighbourhood in a month, during the autumn, as would supply them all for more than a year. He lastly observed, and which decided the point, as they began to be very much in want of iron, that there were coal and iron ore in abundance in the neighbourhood, also that there were limestone, sulphur, and salt springs within the bounds of the country they

would occupy, and caves yielding saltpetre in its neighbourhood."

"He being a man of known probity and honour, and also known to be well acquainted with the indications of the important articles he had mentioned, it was determined, notwithstanding the immense distance of the place, to attempt to remove to it in the following spring, when there would be a supply of herbage for the cattle."

"Thus determined, they entered into a treaty with the Indians, by which they agreed to abandon their country and habitations, on condition, that the Indians should supply them with a certain quantity of provisions, daily, during the journey through their country; and do all in their power to facilitate their progress to the place of their destination. One of the chiefs, among the prisoners, lived upon the extremity of the woody part of the country, through which our people were to travel, all beyond which their intended guide told them, was principally savanna, there not being upon an average more than one fourth or one fifth of it covered with wood. They therefore stipulated to keep all their prisoners as hostages for the performance of the agreement, being assured, that if they reached the open country in safety, they would then have but little more to fear."

"The intermediate winter was spent in arrang-

ing the ir manner of removal, in packing up their valuabl es, in reducing a supply of provisions, in case of a short one from the Indians, into the most portabl e form, in securing a sufficient quantity of powder and ball, in putting their arms into the most p erfect order, and in destroying the worst of their muskets, and their surplus ammunition, that the latte r might not be used against them. During this tim e the Indians made several overtures, as was su pposed, with the sinister view of getting their c hiefs liberated, but our people, suspecting their de sign, determined upon a strict fulfilment of the trea ty."

"Du ring this winter, the colonists lived almost entirely upon corn and vegetables, with what game th ey could kill in the neighbourhood, knowing that they should not be able to carry to their journey 's end more grain than they should want for seed; and thus they preserved their cattle, sheep, and pigs, as furnishing provision which did not require to be carried, the conveyance of provisions and other necessaries of all sorts, being the great difficulty which they had to encounter in their journey."

"I shall now," said my informant, "conclude for this day, and if you have any desire to hear the subsequent part of our history, I shall be happy in your company to dinner, to-morrow, at one o'clock, when I will conclude this slight

outline of it. Should you then wish to be more amply informed upon it, I shall refer you to it in all its particulars, it being in every village library."

I promised to be with him the next day, by the time appointed.

CHAP. XV.

CONTINUATION OF THEIR HISTORY.

AFTER spending my morning in filling up the minutes of what I had heard the day before, I went to dine with my friendly narrator, who after our repast, resumed his sketch of the history of his country as follows.

"The spring arriving, our people commenced one of the most arduous journeys that ever was performed by a whole people of both sexes and of every age. They were now more than three thousand men, about an equal number of women, and young people and children, amounting to about two thirds of the number of both the men and the women. Their chief anxiety was about food for their horses, cattle and sheep, which were very numerous, for as respected themselves, they had a resource in hunting, and also in their sheep and cattle, if they could only keep them supplied with food until they should want them. If food for these should fail, though they might kill and subsist upon them, yet their loss would be to them

irreparable, as they must lose with every one, something that would be essentially useful to them in their future settlement; as not only their horses, but also their cattle, and even some of their strongest sheep had loads to carry proportioned to their strength: this was the principal reason why they had agreed with the Indians for a supply of provisions, and had so strenuously held their hostages for the performance of the contract, as they could not safely neglect our people on account of their own. The men, women, and even the strongest of the young people, had also their proportionate burdens allotted them; and every one was additionally clothed, which they judged to be the easiest way of carrying a large portion of their stock of that essential article. To their milk cows, they allotted the carriage of the tents which they had provided, knowing they must depend upon these for shelter, not only during the journey, but also for some time after they arrived at the end of it."

"For the reasons just mentioned, it had been strictly stipulated, that our people should travel by the most open country, on account of obtaining grass for the live stock; that the Indians should, in places where they could not procure sufficient pasturage in the course of the day, provide a certain quantity of Indian corn as a substitute, in addition to the stipulated quantity of provisions for the people. But our people's great confidence was in their guide, who assured them, that in the way he would take them, even if the Indians

should prove treacherous, by cutting down a quantity of trees, that their cattle, &c. might eat the tops, and sparing them a small quantity of corn, they would be able to attain the open country, without killing more perhaps, than half their sheep; and in that case, the corn thus eaten would lighten the loads of the cattle generally, so that the small articles which necessity had obliged them to put upon the sheep they might kill, might be divided among the horses and cattle."

"Thus prepared and encouraged, they commenced their journey as soon as the appearance of the grass and the foliage of the trees gave the necessary promise. They had not travelled more than twelve or fourteen miles, when the evening closed in upon them, and while preparing to rest under the shelter of their tents, not having yet entered the forest, they were astounded at the sight of flames rising from their late habitations. Though they had in the morning left them, as they believed, for ever, yet to see them in flames, they thought, denoted treachery; it indicated, as they generally believed, too plainly, that the Indians had determined to cut off the possibility of their retreat, and that of course their destruction was intended. Their guide was the only one who thought lightly of the circumstance; he ascribed it to a thoughtless vengeance without further object, or any other view than that of the destruction of their houses; or probably, that they had done it to procure with greater facility the nails and other iron

of the buildings. He advised them to pay no attention to the circumstance, but only to guard their prisoners with care, as while they kept them in their power, they had the means of bringing the Indians to any terms that the necessity of their situation might require. While they were thus speaking, the flames appeared to increase, and suddenly they saw a dreadful explosion take place, when it was recollected that several barrels of powder had been put into a store-room, in the citadel, and forgotten. They understood, on the following day, from some of the Indians who came to visit the prisoners, that they were too amply revenged for their lost town; for that from three to four hundred of the Indians, who were busily employed in plundering for the iron work of the burning houses, many of which were of wood, were either killed, or severely wounded by the explosion. We have since understood, that the Indians, for some ages after, would not visit the hill where the citadel stood, and that they called it, "bloody hill," even when their traditions failed to record the cause of the appellation."

"The next day our emigrants entered the forest, and with this their hardships began, as it was extremely difficult to keep so large a company together in very imperfect tracks and openings, and still more so, to keep the horses, sheep, cattle, and pigs, within bounds. After many changes of plans, according to circumstances, it was determined, that the horses that were inclined to be

wild, should be led by the young boys, and that nearly half of the adult males should enclose the whole of the people, cattle, sheep, horses, &c. on every side, alternately; at once to prevent the straggling of the stock, and surprise from an enemy."

"They had travelled thus for eighteen days, making but very slow progress, sometimes not more than twelve miles a day, though at other times, where the forest was pretty open, or when they had a little open country, they had travelled nearly twenty miles in a day, and upon not coming to any place which promised them food for their cattle, &c. they were much alarmed and chagrined at not receiving the stipulated supply from the Indians. Till that day, the natives had regularly sent a deputation to visit their friends, and to arrange with our people about the reception of the supplies, which had always fallen considerably short of the quantity engaged for, but for which circumstance they always attempted to excuse themselves under pretence of being unsuccessful in their hunting, and the scarcity of corn. The latter part of the excuse our people readily gave credit to, the natives being very poor agriculturists, and never attempting to grow more than they expected to want from one season to another; but the want of game appeared a more doubtful case, as all around them, our people saw vast quantities, and in a great measure, made up the deficiency, by short excursions for it. But on this day, no supply

whatever being received, they for the first time, encroached a little upon their corn for the live-stock, and killed a quantity of the sheep for themselves. During the journey through the woods, their pigs in a great measure, provided for themselves, by picking up acorns, nuts, &c."

"By the advice of their guide and many others, they were induced to set strong watch all round their camp, which they brought into as little room as possible, and every man of the guard slept upon his arms. They also now refused the Indians any food, alleging that they had received none, thereby hoping to bring the natives to the fulfilment of their agreement. They also determined to move forward the following morning, by break of day, in the hope of attaining a few miles of the open country, which their guide thought they were not then more than eighteen miles from. The night was one of alarm; it was observed also, that the prisoners were unusually agitated, which was ascribed to their knowledge of, or concurrence in some bad intention of their countrymen, and to their fears at the determined conduct of our people towards them. Our people however, passed the night unmolested, notwithstanding these alarming appearances. The next day they travelled arduously, and were much benefited by a very high wind that broke off a large quantity of small branches from the trees, which were eaten with avidity by their cattle and sheep. About four in the afternoon they were much gratified

with the appearance of an open country of several miles in extent, not only on account of the advantage it was of to them, but also on account of the confidence it gave them in the correctness of the information of their guide."

"This day also passed without any supply being received from the Indians, but having now plenty of pasture for their live stock, it was not of so much injury to them, as the privation of the day before had been. They killed a great number of turkies in the woods adjoining the open country, which added to the other produce of their hunting, supplied them for the day, without touching their stock, with the exception of two of their oxen which had become lame. They were still resolute with their prisoners, giving each but a very small quantity of meat, and some water, which last article they could not plead a scarcity of, as they were at the side of a rivulet. The prisoners were told, that as their friends appeared determined to starve them, they must bear the consequence, for, till they furnished the regular supply, and even made up the deficiency of their neglect, they must expect to fare worse, rather than better, than they had done for the last two days. This conduct and language had the desired effect. The prisoners proposed, that one of them should be allowed to go to their friends, to know the reason of their present conduct, and to represent to them their situation. This was agreed to, and an old man who had a son among the prisoners, was

the person deputed. He was given to understand that the life of his son would be forfeited if he did not return by sun-rise the next day. They knew this to be possible, as scattered parties of Indians had been seen continually skulking around."

"The policy of the Indians, in this conduct, has never been satisfactorily accounted for, but the prevailing opinion is, that they intended to reduce our people to the necessity of killing the whole of their cattle, (depending upon their known humanity for the safety of the prisoners), that then our people would fall the victims of famine, after travelling beyond the limits of their nations and those of their friends, through whose country they had engaged to protect and assist them; and that thus they would be amply revenged, (revenge being the predominant vice of those uninformed people), without the danger of attacking so formidable an enemy."

"In the morning, before the appointed time, the Indian messenger arrived with the information that the supplies of provision would be very large on that day, and with many excuses, none of which were sufficient to remove the suspicion of their intentions. The quantity of provision now brought in, was beyond what could have been expected from such people. But it may be accounted for, in part at least, by this fact, the Indians had invited all the nations and tribes with whom they were in friendship to the attack of our people, with the intention

of utterly extirpating them. This had drawn nations to their assistance from a distance, which would astonish a more civilized people, and the Indian warriors being also the hunters, the game in the country through which our people passed, had had an almost general respite, and had increased in proportion."

"After this affair, the Indians were, from apprehension, a little more cautious in their conduct; they provided a moderately regular supply, though it generally fell far short of the quantity they had promised, and which they had said they had the means of supplying. It is probable that they promised without any intention of performing, thinking that if they could destroy the town, the destruction of its inhabitants would follow of course, for our people had many reasons for believing that they made very extraordinary exertions in performing what they did. They had no idea of the cool and determined policy of the people whom they sought to ruin, and therefore found it necessary to alter essentially their own plans. It was ascertained, that most of the Indian warriors accompanied, that is, kept near our people during the whole of that part of the journey in which they were engaged to assist them. They were almost all formed into hunting parties. It is probable their first intention was to watch an opportunity for destroying our people, and then to accompany home their liberated chiefs; but foiled and disappointed in their hopes by the firmness opposed to them, they were obliged

unwillingly to hunt, most industriously, for those whom they feared, and therefore hated."

"After several weeks of most arduous travelling in this manner, they arrived at the edge of those immense savannas, which stretch with but little interruption of wood, (not one fourth upon an average,) over a country probably surpassing the half of Europe in extent. It is a part of this open country we now occupy, and which extends several hundred miles beyond our nation in its nearest boundaries, and perhaps more than two thousand, to its furthest extremities."

"They now set their prisoners at liberty, according to their agreement, after first resting a day in the plentiful pastures they were in, a little to recruit the strength of their horses, cattle, and flocks, and to obtain another supply of provisions from the hunting of the Indians; but this, like all the rest of their supplies, was far less than they had promised, and very inferior to the product of the guns of our people. They however dismissed their prisoners with some trifling presents, with which they were the more gratified, being quite unexpected."

"Though the most dreaded part of the journey was now over, they had yet many and great hardships and difficulties to surmount, and a vast extent of country to pass over before they could attain the end of their journey. They now found

the game which they could procure, frequently run very short for so large a party, and this for more than a month after they entered the open country; and they were consequently obliged to kill many of their oxen and sheep, and to make a further inroad upon their small stock of corn. Many of the people, from fatigue, or indisposition, or the natural solicitude they felt to find a resting place, wished they could settle in the savannas where they were, and no doubt would have attempted it, had it not been too late for the sowing of the spring corn. They could have had no supply of corn till the following year, and the question was, how they were to pass the winter, or to exist till it was grown? On mature consideration, it was determined that their best plan, notwithstanding their suffering, and the reluctant disposition of many, was to proceed, however slowly, till they attained the promised position of safety; in the neighbourhood of which, their guide had repeatedly assured them, they might kill during a month in the autumn, more buffaloes, which were then in the best condition, than would serve them all for their entire support, for a whole year."

"They now proceeded with fresh spirits and resolution, and in a few days began to meet small herds of buffaloes, which though not yet very fat, were in good condition, and with considerable exertion of the hunting parties, were made to supply them with a sufficient quantity of welcome and

wholesome food. The buffaloes increased in numbers and improved in condition, during the remainder of the journey, and with this abundant supply of provision, the hopes and the spirits of the travellers augmented daily."

"During this part of the journey their hunting parties were several times attacked by the Indians, but they never ventured to approach the main body. These Indians were perfect strangers to the use of fire-arms, and when any of a tribe had witnessed their effects, they were seldom any more troubled with them. Having taken some of the most audacious of them prisoners, they were made to accompany our parties in their hunting, that they might see the deadly effect of those instruments of destruction. On these occasions, none but the best marksmen were allowed to shoot, that the Indians might be impressed with an idea of their fatal certainty of effect, and their astonishment at it was beyond description. They said our people were a new race of men, made by the Great Spirit, who had given them the command of his thunder, that the old inhabitants of the country might not be able to get at them to injure or kill them. When it was thought that sufficient impression had been made upon them, they were set at liberty, with the present of a few knives, and were made to understand, that if they would furnish corn, they should have more of these, and also other things given to them, but that any of them who molested our people, would certainly be

killed. Thus impressed with respect, they did not venture upon further attacks, and wishing for more knives, some of them brought in considerable quantities of Indian corn."

"They however shortly after, saw a war party of a nation, at a great distance from their home, which it was expected would prove the most unfriendly of any they would meet with, but they did not venture to molest our people."

"They travelled in this journey considerably north out of the right line of their place of destination, to avoid as much as possible the rivers where they were wide and deep, as the passing of these was one of their greatest difficulties, and brought into exercise all their strength and ingenuity. The particulars of their inventions for this purpose, as also many other particulars which I cannot relate from memory, should you be desirous of learning, I must refer you for to our history."

I replied, that the interesting outline which he was so kind as to give me, was more agreeable than an examination of voluminous particulars would be.

He continued; "they had now travelled a very considerable distance in the vast plain through which the Missouri flows, and passed some other Indian nations of very friendly dispositions, when

they happily arrived at the end of their journey: during a few of the last days of which they saw almost innumerable herds of buffaloes."

"Thus was performed a journey of more than two thousand miles, which took more than six months of incessant labour to accomplish, under many disadvantages, difficulties, and privations. Their guide, in his too great confidence, had calculated upon others being like himself, indifferent to fatigue and privatious. Their wants and difficulties however, had far exceeded his calculation, for, notwithstanding the supplies which they forced from their enemies, and those they purchased from the friendly Indians, they had not more than one fourth of their sheep left, when at the end of their journey, and had lost half of their oxen, with many of their cows, horses, and pig, which failing with fatigue, were (excepting the horses) killed for food. They also lost, and tremendous the loss was, being not fewer than four hundred and seventy-five of their people, principally old persons and children, who sunk under their fatigues. Their women, upon the whole, travelled nearly as well as the men, excepting those who, from their situation, were obliged to be assisted by riding as much as circumstances would allow. It may be worth noticing, that the women had only to proceed forward, whereas the men had all the duties of guarding and hunting to perform in addition to travelling."

" As you know the situation of the country, I shall only advert to their reasons for the choice which they made. You no doubt were surprised, on your arrival in this part of the great plain, with the innumerable quantities of pillars and ridges of clay or earth, covered with stones, that seem to have preserved them against the action of rain, which appears, in the course of numberless years, to have worn or washed off the unprotected groun daround, from one to two hundred feet below them, and probably still more below the original elevation of the ground. You have, no doubt, noticed their immense quantities in some places, and their singular shapes, as pillars and ridges of every variety of size and form. One of these forms a natural inclosure, the district we are now in, and promised not only protection for themselves, but also for corn and cattle, more than they could consume. They did not fear the attacks of the Indians, but the effects of their incessant depredations, and the destruction which these caused; and it was uncertain how long those who were at that time so friendly might remain so. In the country they had left, they could always easily repel the attacks of the enemy, but they had dreaded the burning of their corn, and the destruction of their cattle, by men accustomed to surprise those whom they intended to injure, which must ultimately have brought ruin upon them. They now determined to take every possible precaution to prevent a recurrence of similar dangers, till their

increased numbers should render such precaution less important or necessary."

"When our forefathers first arrived in this country, or more properly in this district, there were three entrances into it made by the hand of nature; the one by which you entered, and two on the western side. One of those on the western boundaries, is not more than twenty yards wide, the other is about two hundred and fifty yards. With these small exceptions, it is surrounded by a natural rampart of from one to two hundred feet high, and which varies in breadth from a few yards to nearly a mile in many places; and at the higher end where the three small rivers arise, which united, form the river which leaves the district at the pass where you entered it, it is almost four miles broad, and is chiefly of limestone."

"The end of their journey, was far from being the end of their toil. They purchased this spot, which is about thirty-three miles long, with an average breadth of about eighteen miles; together with a large extent of country all around it, for which they gave about two thousand knives, three hundred and fifty hatchets, and some trinkets of small value. Having smoked the calumet with the people of the surrounding nations, as the guarantee of peace and friendship, they commenced their labours. They found this natural inclosure contained about one-third part wood, and that the remainder consisted of savanna, abounding with

the most luxuriant grass, the whole growing upon a soil of the richest kind. They discovered a bed of coal, which broke out upon the deep banks of the united stream flowing from the country, of a thickness then unknown, but evidently of many feet. There is also iron ore, both within and without this natural defence, and lead ore could be dug at no great distance, which were of course included in the purchase. But with all these advantages in prospect, their situation had many and great difficulties. They had brought a short supply of plough-irons, on account of their being too heavy for carriage; they had but a small stock of corn left, not more than was necessary for seed; they were without houses; they had also to complete the natural defence in the deficient places; and they had to lay in a supply of food for the winter, as their corn, cattle, and other stock, could not prudently be touched."

It being now late, we parted for the night, after I had agreed to spend the next day with my communicative friend, when he promised to conclude this brief account of their history.

CHAP. XVI.

CONCLUSION OF THEIR HISTORY.

THE following day I punctually kept my appointment; and my intelligent entertainer proceeded as follows.

"A general consultation was now held, in which it was agreed in the first instance, to secure a winter's stock of food for themselves and cattle; and then to erect temporary dwellings of green timber, to defend them from the weather, during the ensuing winter, which timber would, by the following summer, become dry and a little seasoned, and thus be more fit for permanent building. In pursuance of this plan, the older part of the men began mowing grass for the support of their live-stock during the winter, and many of the women and children assisted in making it into hay; though this hay was not of the best kind, being very coarse, yet it was a great satisfaction to them, to see a sufficient quantity stacked up, and out of danger of the weather, in little more than three weeks after

their arrival. The younger part of the men went to a considerable distance to kill buffaloes, besides taking a large number that were found within the district, and which were thus caught, as in a trap. In less than three weeks they had killed more than were thought sufficient to serve all the people till the autumn of the following year. They dried some after the Indian manner, in small strips, as the women and children, who did not assist in hay making, were not able, with all their exertions to procure, by boiling and evaporation in the air, salt enough for the whole; though there are two salt-springs in the immediate neighbourhood of the place where they first pitched their tents."

"The hunters having performed their task first, they now applied themselves to making a few ploughs of green timber, to which they affixed their plough-irons for present use, and ploughed up the land, which had been cleared by mowing, and which they sowed with wheat, though in the most careful manner, as respected the use of their seed. They also sowed a pretty large extent of turnips, in hope of adding to their stock of winter food for their cattle, and also of finding vegetables for themselves; and though they were sown much later than the usual time, they were rewarded with a very good crop. They also dug up small patches of land for gardens, and planted the several kinds of fruit trees which they had brought with them: having, with much trouble, brought a few young plants of every kind which they possessed in their

first settlement. Their women and children also gathered and dried large quantities of excellent wild fruit, which proved of the greatest service in the winter, for the preservation of their health, when they must otherwise have lived entirely upon animal food, milk and turnips, as their stock of corn would not afford bread."

"They now commenced building their houses, or rather huts, for they were of the plainest workmanship, and hurried together in the roughest and most hasty manner; for they had now many signs of approaching winter. The interstices in these hasty buildings, were filled up with clay, mixed with dried grass. Having erected but just enough of these, to defend them from the cold, which appeared to set in severer than might have been expected from the latitude, they not being then aware of the difference which the considerable elevation of the country made in that respect. They next applied themselves to erecting places of shelter for their horses, cattle and pigs, which they did with branches and twigs of trees and underwood, plastered up with grass and clay, which they thatched with long grass and reeds from the sides of the river, as they had done their own habitations."

"Their wheat soon appeared above ground, and gave good promise for the ensuing year. The winter proved severe, but dry; and having plenty of provisions and fuel, they enjoyed it, and recruit-

ed their strength after the excessive labour of the year. In the succeeding spring, they sowed their barley, oats and beans, and also their garden seeds. After which they commenced brick making, and bringing the timber from the woods, which they had cut down at the commencement of the winter, for the purpose of seasoning. The first use they made of their bricks, was to build a very strong wall to close up the parts, where the natural defence of the situation was deficient; having before only barricadoed them with high wooden palings; they made strong gates to each of the two western avenues, and also closed up the one by the side of the river, leaving also by this a third entrance with strong gates. Thus guarded against danger from external foes, and having the prospect of plenty before them, they turned their whole industry to the more comfortable accommodation of themselves; commencing with the building of neat and convenient brick houses, by which nearly one half of them were well housed before the following winter: in the two succeeding summers, every family in the settlement occupied one."

"Thus commenced our people, and the increase of population has been proportionate to an uninterrupted state of peace and plenty, added to our healthy employments, customs and manners; and to the beneficent influence of our happy institutions and laws."

I expressed my obligation to my intelligent en-

tertainer, for his polite recital of this outline of their history; as in the numerous demands made upon my attention, in a country so interesting, I could not have found time to have read and abstracted their history, which is voluminous, and comprises minute particulars. I at the same time, however, told him that he had left unrelated a part of their history, which was, at least to me, as important as the manner in which their fathers had attained the country they now occupy: and this was, how their peculiar laws and institutions arose; which were so unlike those of the country which the founders of their people had left, at the time they departed from it. He readily acquiesced, and continued as follows.

"Our fore-fathers had lived little more than sixty years in this country, before they experienced all the evils that attend the lust of wealth and power. Though free, according to the most extended ideas of freedom, drawn from the models of ancient Greece and Rome, they began to find that they were not a happy people. With a soil much richer than that of the country they first settled in, nature and industry soon made up the losses of removal. Accumulation began, and with it injustice, and the lust of power; many aiming at authority through sinister means, without considering it as a sacred trust for the good of all, and not intended for the gratification of individual pride. In short, publicly, there was all the rivalship which usually agitates a republic; and pri

vately, that thirst of wealth and pursuit of individual interest, which makes all men unhappy; the rich in the fear of possible changes, and the poor in desiring it as a mean of immediate gratification, or as a protection from want."

"In the one hundred and fourth year of our nation, dating from the arrival of its founders from England, there was a dreadful contest for the office of chief governor; in which the parties had, in some instances, come to blows, and in many, had used intimidations to procure votes; and the successful candidate had expressed, rather unequivocally among his friends, an intention when once in power, not readily to resign it. This becoming known, great alarm prevailed, and though the truth of the rumour was flatly denied by the party, to whom the design was attributed, it did not lose credit, but rather gained ground, on account of their frequent private meetings. All was consternation. "Did our ancestors," said they, "come into the wilderness from oppression in England, only that we should be tyrannized over by a few of our equals? It was a fortunate circumstance for our country, that all officers were elected three months before the offices became vacant."

"Things were thus alarmingly situated, when, about a month before the time when the new governor, and some other principal officers, were to be installed in the usual course, there appeared posted up in all the public places, a notice, stating

that a person wished to address his country men and brethren, on the threatening state of the settlement, on that day week, in the large market place."

"This being a novel measure, and the anxiety of the people being very great on the subject, there was scarcely a man in the settlement who did not attend there at the time appointed. All were desirous to see who had called them together; and when a man who had frequently been solicited to stand for the office of chief governor, from the general admiration of his wisdom and character, but who had always declined it, appeared as the person who had called the meeting, there was a loud and general shout of approbation."

"He ascended the rostrum which had been prepared, and commenced by saying, "Fellow countrymen and brethren, I hope I have brought you something more worthy of your approbation, than merely one of yourselves. If you would be happy, which no doubt is the object of your labours, you must not look so much as you are accustomed to do, at the men who govern, or who propose plans of government to you, but much more at the principles by which they govern, or propose your being governed."

"I have," said he, "laboured to find a remedy for the growing evils which distract our country, and I trust I have at length found one. I am so

fully convinced of the practicability and utility of what I am going to propose, that were I addressing an ignorant and superstitious people, I would, in furtherance of my purpose only, and to fix the good it will do, if put into practice, boldly declare myself inspired; but happily for man, superstition is fast fleeing away with the ignorance which it imposed upon. I know you can admit of no inspiration, but that which may be universal, the honest and attentive use of that best gift of the Creator—reason. May then this divine principle which I trust inspires me now to speak, also inspire you with a disposition of mind suitable for the dispassionate consideration of what I advance, a choice of that which is just, without regard to the proposer, and an inflexible adherence to it."

"Our forefathers were all equals when they first landed in this quarter of the globe, and whatever inequalities had crept in among them during the lapse of forty-three years, they were again equalized by their common necessities at the time of their migration hither. Our present necessities, though not so threatening or immediate as those were, are equally important, and require all our vigilance and firmness to remedy: on us now depends the happiness not only of our future lives, but also of all our descendants as a people, through many generations; for if WE cannot resist injustice and tyranny, whose fathers knew of no superiors but the laws, enacted by them all, and some of whom still live, it is not likely that future generations

will be able to expel them when in full and old possession. Prejudice would then be leagued with power against the claims of justice. It is certain, that if we now neglect the duty which we owe to ourselves and our children, we shall become like other nations, where precedents are consulted to the neglect, and even to the perversion of justice. Let it be impressed upon your minds, that what you now do for yourselves, is also for your children; if you favour the assumption of power by particular men, your acts of this day will be brought forward in future, as precedents for tyrannizing over your children, and children's children; if you do not favour their views, designing men of future times will not advert to what is now done; and it will become an imperative duty on every one to see recorded on the part of the people, that the great and universal precedents of justice and human nature guarantee equal and unalienable rights to all men."

"When we reflect on the states of society, which all nations present in their histories, and perceiving as we do, that they have all fallen short of the happiness which God, (by the laws of the nature of man,) hath placed within their reach, let us not, I entreat you, whose fathers fled to this country to avoid oppression, commence the oppression of each other; but let us try if it be not possible, as I firmly believe it is, to form a state of society which will prevent, in our country, those many miseries which afflict other people, and pro-

cure for ourselves that happiness which they have failed to obtain. The way is plain and easy, it is simply, TO BE JUST: this parent of all the virtues, will lead us to brotherly love, and with it to happiness. The old systems of society have been tried long enough; and, it is folly approaching to madness, now that we have the power of choosing, to determine to pursue the way which the experience of all ages and all nations proves to lead only to cares, disappointments, and misery."

"The success of one nation has mostly been the loss or ruin of another. Thus history describing what is called the glory of one country, but tells you that certain other countries were enslaved; that one part of mankind were base enough to assist tyranny, and another, mean enough to submit to it; or too feeble to resist it with success. Alas! that men should so lack wisdom, as to aid tyrannical governments to enslave their fellowmen: will they never see that they thereby rivet chains upon themselves; and that the bad consequences of this conduct is more directly and severely felt between parties in a state, than even between different nations?"

"It is disgraceful to man, the only rational being on earth, that he should heap more evils upon his fellow creatures than any of the irrational animals do upon theirs. Most gregarious animals enjoy equally, the good which nature presents to them; and were they capable of restraint in pro-

creation, their felicity might be said to be entire. Unrestrained indulgence in this instance, is to them the parent of want, and its attendant evils. They go within a single step of happiness: let us who have reason, take this step. Let us add to the individual independence of nature, the restraint of reason, and be happy. Shall man for ever live, generation after generation, with reason to discover the cause of his unhappiness, and never attempt to remedy it? JUSTICE and REASON present you with happiness, and invite you to accept it."

"I will now read over to you the plan of society which after an impartial and careful examination, I think best calculated to produce and insure happiness."

"He then" said my informant "read over the plan of our institutions, and the primary laws, which you have had related to you; and the happy result of the practice and observance of which, you have witnessed. They were received with enthusiasm. Some few who had begun to ride upon the shoulders of their equals, attempted to discountenance them, with the stale objection to all reform, that of its being impracticable and visionary: after which, he rose and said in reply," "it is easy to assert, that every thing which has not been tried is impracticable; and it is very possible for interested men to say so, without being so convinced, and even against conviction.

When only assertions are opposed to the reasonableness of a plan for the general good, the only decisive proof of its value is a fair trial. Now I appeal to you as men, as reasonable beings, who have, (I speak it to your honour,) amidst all your troubles, toils, and dangers attended to the cultivation of your minds, and to those of your children, shall we, having the right of choice in ourselves, adopt a plan of society which has been tried innumerable times, and always found deficient; or shall we embrace one which your general approbation of this day has said, gives, at least, the promise of success?"

"He paused," said my informant, "and the people with loud acclamations approved of the plan. He immediately put it to the vote, that he might not leave his work incomplete, and the dissentients were not more than one in two hundred. It was therefore declared to be the constitution of the country, and unalterable except by a majority of four fifths of the whole people. The people assembled, signed their names to a general act, to put it into force immediately, and to maintain it inviolable till altered in the manner provided for by this law of the constitution."

"Thus," said my friendly informant, "originated the laws, institutions, and customs, which are peculiar to us. They are supported with an attachment, which is only equalled by the advantages and blessings they confer. Whatever apparent

temporary advantage the breach of them may offer to individuals, the general good sense of a well informed people sees clearly, that the real and permanent advantage of all, individually as well as nationally, consists, in a strict adherence to their principles; principles which have rendered us the happiest of nations."

My kind entertainer now ended his interesting and important recital; and I retired to commit it to writing as soon as possible: taking advantage of his compendious account, to save myself the labour of abridging their history.

CHAP. XVII.

MISCELLANEOUS RECOLLECTIONS OF SUBJECTS OBSERVED BY THE AUTHOR, AND OF OBSERVATIONS MADE BY THE INHABITANTS OF NEW BRITAIN, DURING HIS RESIDENCE AMONG THEM; MANY OF WHICH ARE ILLUSTRATIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS AND HABITS OF THINKING.

IT was remarked by a New Briton, as one of their aphorisms, that, "in youth, hope, like the blossom of spring, promises more than nature can fulfil; but that those who follow justice and reason, gather the fairest proportion of fruit."

Also, that, "all moral evil arises from the neglect or violation of reason; for reason and justice are twins."

They say, "social union is the offspring of reason; and its perfection, the perfection of reason."

They use their gold in defending their finest instruments of steel from rust, and their silver for nearly similar purposes; also for defraying the expenses of travelling, and for purchasing works of science and information, thus making those metals truly valuable.

They make use of but little fuel, and that chiefly in providing their food. They say, that "man, though an inhabitant of every clime, is yet known to be injured by sudden and great changes of climate, therefore cannot be benefited by passing several times a day from the artificial heat of rooms, to the open air, many degress colder; and thus in walking a few yards, producing, in less than a minute, as far as respects temperature, a change equal to what nature gives only at many hundred miles distance, or in a considerable lapse of time." How much their custom in this matter assists their prevailing habits of temperance, I do not pretend to judge; but this I may safely say, they are, as a people, by far the healthiest I ever saw.

They say, "true personal glory can only be attained by virtue, and by contributing to the good of the human race."

Also, "that ambitious governments or people, must be almost always at war, either for or against their unjust acquisitions, either to suppress or to defend them."

One of their aphorisms is, "that the real and best pleasures of sense, result from due restraint."

They make great use of the spade in their agriculture. The land they plough is with oxen. There are several yokes of them in every village, which are common property, as are the ploughs and waggons with which they are used. A single yoke of oxen will do all the labour required of them by several families. Many of the young cattle and sheep are common property, and are appropriated principally to the use of young married people, when they settle in new houses, and on what is termed new land. It is a common practice, when a person kills a sheep, a pig, a calf, or an ox, to divide it with his neighbours as far as it will go, in pieces suited to the consumption of their families. By this custom, each family has a supply of fresh animal food twice or three times a week, and all are exempted from the necessity of salting down large quantities, and from having to live as much as they otherwise would be obliged to do, upon salted provisions.

In many villages in the neighbourhood of rivers, the houses are upon land a little elevated, with their gardens and corn land round them, and they have general meadows and pastures by the sides of the rivers, divided into several large fields, for convenience, in which every one has a certain right of pasture, and of cutting grass for hay. By this plan, they avoid the danger of floods to

their corn, and the damps of a low situation to themselves. The land they mow is mostly, in these situations, the highest part of the low lands.

In the old settled parts of the country, there are no horses kept, but those for military duty, which are generally from two to eight or ten in each village, according to its size. The numbers of these are carefully maintained, but they have to do other duties besides those of military parade: they draw the village carriage or carriages, (for some large villages have two,) in which invalids and the aged travel, or have the benefit of air and exercise. They are also used when dispatch is required in conveying messages, and in other cases where more strength and speed are required than man possesses. They say, as a reason for this custom, that, "as a horse requires as much land for its support as would maintain a moderate family, that therefore none should be kept but those for which there is an absolute need for the public good; as each one supersedes the existence of a small family, and may for this reason be considered as a real evil, unless it can be proved that a horse is of more value, and more worthy of existence than several human beings. "To keep pleasure horses," they say, "would be to gratify ourselves at the expence of the existence of several times their number of our fellow creatures." This they consider applies to all the full inhabited parts of the country. On the borders where they are building new villages, and where there is land,

unappropriated to human subsistence, they keep more, to draw stones, bricks, timber, and other articles, and to go to distant parts to collect the presents of friends, and the surplus produce of old villages, for the comfort and convenience of the new settlers; but as soon as a village is completed, they give their horses above the number stated by law, to those who are building. They consider, that society would require still fewer horses, were it not for the prevalence of injustice, which leading to wars, makes it necessary for a people to have a sufficient number for their defence.

In New Britain, the statesman has not to reconcile the contending interests of the agriculturist, the manufacturer, and the merchant. They have no interest but that of mutual happiness; and, their minds not being blinded by avarice, nor corroded with care, they have discovered it in mutual acts of justice and kindness.

Upon speaking one day of the wealth amassed by individuals in other nations, one of the New Britons observed that, the merely rich man is a discredit to his nature; he is not an honest man, for he holds more than justice approves; he is not wise, for he labours hardly, with many and anxious cares, to purchase a grave which hides all he ever did: his shame only surviving him."

Speaking of literature, a New Briton remarked

of the European poets of the present time, that, "they have too much decoration, and too little matter: like double flowers which bear no seed." He added, "I do not admire that writing which is loaded with more pomp than the sense can carry."

They say, that "benevolence is rarely in the power of man, as all that is generally called so, would be precluded by, or absorbed in justice. It is only after having fulfiled the utmost claims of social justice that man can be benevolent: then when he voluntarily encroaches upon his own *natural* and *just* rights for the benefit of others, he is benevolent, and only then."

They have wines of their own making, of a variety of sorts, all the produce of their own vines, or the other fruit trees of their orchards. They also eat a great quantity of fruit, their breakfasts and suppers being frequently composed of bread, fruit, and milk.

They distil but very little, and that little is distilled and distributed under the direction of their physicians, or medical men. Every family generally keeps a small portion of spirits by them in case of need. All their spirits, (except of the aromatic kind,) are drawn from their surplus fruit, which would otherwise spoil. They never think of applying corn to this purpose, considering it as the grossest waste, and utterly unjustifiable on the

principles of sound morality. They ask, "what can justify the reducing that which would be the substantial aliment of a family, into the mere extra indulgence of a depraved individual?" They are surprised that any governments can so neglect the moral health of their people, as to permit this practice for the sake of revenue. They are still more surprised that any people will allow such profuse waste, while any in the country feel the sad effect of a scarcity of bread. "What," they say, "can be the notions of policy and prudence of a people who though complaining of want, and importing this first necessary of life, at the same time render agreat part of it, worse than nugatory, as to its proper use of healthful support. Such people destroy what would otherwise support a a large addition to their population; and also injure the health and morals of their thus inferior numbers."

They say in New Britain, injustice is not the least diminished in its criminality, though committed with all the forms of law; but is, on the contrary, greatly augmented in its banefulness by the support, and countenance of these."

There is, in New Britain, to be found, a never-ending variety of tastes, pursuits, characters, and manners; as within the boundaries of extenisve and simple laws, every one has the liberty of following his or her peculiar views and inclinations. They are bound by no rules of fashion, for there

all is fashionable that has propriety and decency to recommend it. Their characters, manners, and dress, are not reduced to a general sameness by an attention to that eternal chime of their parent country, "this is genteel, and that is vulgar." There may be seen many of the varieties of Grecian, Roman, and modern European costumes, and many, in no respect inferior, of their own invention. The prevailing character of their dress is, ease united with simplicity.

There is no deficiency of honours in New Britain, but they are all confined to moral and mental excellence. They say of moral merit, "it is true honour to excel where all are equal competitors:" and they say, "mental superiority has a just claim to honour; as, however, great the natural powers of men, they cannot rise to intellectual eminence without assiduous application." They add, "true honour has no connection with superfluous wealth, nor with the art that acquires it, nor with the accident of birth."

They observe, "that by manufactures and commerce, men turn into food, (by drawing it in exchange from other countries,) the bowels of the earth and the clothing of their flocks; which under the regulations of another system, would become their own clothing and conveniences. The danger of this system is, an increase of inhabitants beyond the supply of food from their own soil; and the consequent pressure of partial or

general famine, as the foreign demand for the manufactured articles ceases by any means: thus comfort and independence are ill exchanged for incessant toil and anxious care."

They smile at the projects of some of our English writers, who recommend milk and potatoes to the poor, as substitutes for corn, to prevent scarcity. They say, "as far as respects potatoes, this is perfectly rational, as the same land cultivated with potatoes will produce more human food than when sown with wheat, but that land applied to pasturing and growing grass for cows, will produce more sustenance for man, appears extremely doubtful, and if it will not, how can it be reasonably recommended as a substitute in times of scarcity?" Impressed with the opinion that land yields most food for man, by agriculture and gardening, their customs lay a strong restraint even upon the quantity of cattle kept, except in situations which are only suitable to pasture, many small families having frequently much less than the produce of a cow for themselves. Their practice in this as in almost all similar cases is, to give the surplus of plentiful times to those who have less produce, and to receive when they themselves have a short supply. It is customary, where the cow pasture is a general one, and at a distance, for some few, alternately, to milk the whole without regard to the particular owners, and to divide the milk on their return, not by the quantity produced by each family's cow, but by the wants of

the several families. The same principle regulates the division of the produce of this, and all other useful articles throughout the country: the ever-changing surpluses making up for the ever-changing deficiencies, thus effecting mutual comfort, convenience and advantage.

The pursuits of the New Britons present more variety than those of the people of other countries. After the time which every one must as a first duty, apply to the public necessities and conveniences, all follow the peculiar bent of their inclinations. Thus numerous things in arts, science, mechanics, decorations, &c. are carried to a degree of perfection, which the cares of other people seldom permit them to arrive at. With them the universal freedom from want and care, and their abundant leisure, constitute every man his own patron: thus genius, whatever its pursuit, does not wither through the want of a genial sun; it is not stunted in its growth by chilling poverty; neither is its strength drawn out and dissipated in redundant and sickly foliage, by the unnatural heat of wealth.

Speaking one evening on the acquirement of riches, one of the New Britons said, "our efforts are not, like those of most people we hear of, to make *fortunes;* they are directed to a superior end, that of being happy. No doubt the pursuers of wealth promise themselves happiness, and consider riches as the root; but they are mostly deceived

in the fruit. We take a more direct path, we find happiness to consist in being content with what reasoning nature requires; and our economy is so regulated, that all have, and also the almost certain prospect of continuing to have, what is sufficient for reasonable beings, without crowding them with cares. Were we to gather gold, we should amass a factitious treasure, if food or other necessaries more than nature requires, we should only heap up cares." He added, "you have seen, my friend, we do not approve of the circuitous and uncertain road of riches to happiness, but take the direct path, and we are, at once, where the rich only hope to be."

The same person also remarked, "reason requires that men should appropriate a considerable part of their time to information and mental improvement; and not the whole of it to the accumulation of that which they must leave behind them. Knowledge, wisdom and virtue will accompany us to our future states of being: we know that riches cannot. Thus we conclude, that the mind only has the capacity to receive unbounded and permanent wealth."

The New Britons believe, that those, who best employ the reason which God hath given them, and are most grateful for the gift, best perform their duty to Him, to their fellow-creatures, and to themselves.

On the subject of toleration they say, " it is an insult to the Deity for any man, or number of men, to attempt to dictate how, or in what manner others shall worship Him; it is as if God were too weak to enforce his own will: every man being in this matter answerable to his Creator only."

They say, " the philanthropist—how rich!—he is the truly rich man; in all the good of all mankind he holds secure possession."

A common aphorism with them is, " the present day is the important part of life, and should be employed and enjoyed, but with the mind's eye directed to the future."

They say, " people who live in the practice of injustice and oppression, either do not believe in a future state, or are the slaves of some superstition which promises them salvation on other terms than justice and virtue."

One of their literary men observed, " it is generally said by critics, that it requires several ages to decide upon the merit of a literary work; and that no one should presume upon immortality from the approbation of his own age. This is only generally true of works raised to temporary fame by party or by prejudice; or of those which by their nature are only calculated to amuse the passing day; the chief merit of which is their novelty. On the contrary, the authors of works which are

founded on the broad basis formed by nature and reason, may presume, if they command the approbation of their own age, not only on immortality, but also on an increase of fame, as reason is more exercised, and nature better understood. The facilities which printing gives for diffusing works, together with the incomparably more abundant growth of knowledge which it has occasioned, makes years of the present time more than equal to centuries of past and ancient ages; and therefore, present years may be compared to former centuries, in deciding upon the merit of mental labours, where there is nothing to biass the minds of the readers."

Sir George one day said, in a company of New Britons, "your policy, as it respects commerce and equal possessions, will not gain the approbation of the successful merchants of Europe; of whom it may be said, as formerly of those of Tyre, "its merchants are princes." To this it was replied, "to say of a country that its merchants are princes," is very mistaken praise, if meant as such, for it is saying in other words, that the bulk of its people are slaves; as all are slaves who are dependant on them, or who are subjected to continual labour in trades or manufactories, or to toil and hazard upon the seas, for the support of such partial grandeur: it makes no difference whether they have task-masters or necessity to goad them forward."

" There has been but one instance of inadequate portions of land having been assigned in the first building of a village; in which case four of the allotments were divided among the others, to render every one of them competent to the comfortable maintenance of a family. On the other hand, it is very common to see in a village six or eight houses, and frequently more, which have been added since the first building of it, where the land has proved better than it was at first judged to be, or where it has been considerably improved by cultivation, and consequently admitting of further division. Their general aim is, to make the country maintain as many happy inhabitants as it can.

They disapprove as much of the grasping passion in nations as in individuals, for they say, " on the principles of sound justice between countries, there is no necessity for nations to be large, that they may defend themselves. A man of true honour would rather be an inhabitant of a small nation that did justice, than of a large one that oppressed others."

The New Britons never take oaths; they consider the people dishonoured among whom they are required. They say, " when a man speaks it should be the truth; there are times when he may be silent; but he should never utter a falsehood."

In New Britain men of genius are considered, as it were, of taller minds than other men; and

who therefore have an important duty to perform, to hand down the knowledge which they only can reach, for the common benefit of all.

The christians of New Britain believe the Devil to be only a bold eastern personification of sin: "can we," they say, "for a moment think that an omnipotent God would allow of such a rival; for according to all who believe in his real existence, he is more successful among mankind than God himself: such people displace the sovereignty and omnipotence of the Deity to make room for the Devil."

When any dispute arises about the exchange of necessaries, a circumstance which very seldom happens, as there selfishness is dishonourable, as well as abortive of its object, it is referred to the magistrate of the village and a committee; who decide upon value, by the time required in the production of the articles in question.

The New Britons consider true riches to consist in exemption from want: they think those who have the fewest wants, not those who have the largest possessions, to be the richest.

They seldom use tobacco or snuff, except it be medicinally.

Some of the New Britons say, "the law of nature, honestly attended to, is sufficient for man;

it is acknowledged on all sides to be the work of God; and he who says it is insufficient, accuses the Deity of having produced an imperfect work, one inadequate to the end for which He created it. Beyond this law, could it be expected that the Deity would ever interfere, we might reasonably think it would be, to put an end to the conflicting opinions which agitate mankind."

They say in New Britain, "that cannot properly be called civilized life, where every one is trying to get more than his neighbour; but that they are truly civilized, where men make common cause with their neighbours, to provide for the wants of our nature, equally for the comfort, advantage and security of all."

A New Briton observed, "political convulsions call many men into notice; and if a leading man is just in the discharge of his duty, it calls forth innumerable praises upon him: a proof, at once, of the natural attachment of mankind to justice, and of the facility with which honour is attained in times of public trouble. It may be objected to the opinion of men being naturally attached to justice, that they are, in almost all states of society, continually acting unjustly, and are only restrained by laws, from still greater deviations from right. But, such reasoners should take into the account, how much of this is caused by the institutions under which they have been educated. He who publicly may, with alleged honour to himself,

deprive a fellow creature of property and life, because he is of a nation with which his government happens to be at war, has not far to descend to commit injustice or violence in private life; and the principle extends, with the spirit of retaliation, to those who are injured. Habit, too frequently, in giving a second, gives a worse nature to man."

Speaking of independent states, Sir George and I were much surprised at one of the New Britons saying, "we have a colony, or more properly, a descendant state, to the westward, which is now very flourishing. Their laws and institutions are the same as our own. We have reserved no control over them, from the principle which guides us, that small states, as well as large ones ought, in justice, to be free and independent. We have one treaty with them; a treaty of mutual assistance for reciprocal defence. The same conditions of treaty are ever ready on our part with all our neighbours. It is the fundamental condition of these treaties, that neither party, if aggressors, can claim assistance. Our descendant people also make the same principle, a first condition in all their treaties with those around their state. This state owes its origin to a party of young men who volunteered to assist in defence of a nation of Indians in that neighbourhood. On their return, being delighted with the scenery of the country which they had visited, it being in the vicinity of a beautiful lake, the greater part of them agreed to return and settle there, and induced some others

to go with them. They purchased the country of the Indians; and with their wives, to the number of three hundred and seventeen families, went and took possession of it. They were liberally assisted in their undertaking, by their relations and others, when it was found that there was no dissuading them from their project. They have been very successful, and now consist of upwards of a thousand families. Scarcely any but volunteers go to assist others in war; but those from the youth of a single county of our country, would generally more than suffice for the defence of any of the friendly nations near us: but none can go on these expeditions, without the approbation of the chief president and his council."

"We observed but few attempts at wit among the New Britons, though we heard many fine sallies, arise naturally out of the matter in hand. One day the subject of conversation being the unpleasant company which those people make themselves, who are continually twisting all that is said for wit; a young lady of the name of Morgan, said "such persons are like children with their first school-prizes, they must shew them to every body."

Speaking of the success and character of Buonaparte, a New Briton said, "he let pass a fine opportunity of standing high on the roll of fame. He would have had admirers even in New Britain, had he exercised his stupendous power to

bless mankind; in this view only was his situation and influence enviable; though possessing supreme authority, in one extensive country, and surrounded by others, which he ruled by his powerful influence, and which were writhing under political and social evils, he withheld the assuaging balm of a just and noble use of his power; he neglected the true greatness of his lot, for the mean pursuit, and the grovelling ambition of personal elevation, and is therefore despicable. Were I an inhabitant of one of the old states of Europe, and had I the ear of a king, who would do all I proposed for his *true glory*, and which I could prove to him would advance it, his name should stand amidst ten thousand Cæsars, as does that of the great Alfred among the common race of kings." Alas! that men in power should be so universally blind to that which is truly glorious,—was my almost involuntary ejaculation on the conclusion of these remarks.

The New Britons say, "every genuine honour is open to us; the whole range of literature, of the sciences, of the arts, and of the moral and social duties of man, lies free before us. We are only restrained from those perverted honours which are built upon the cruelties of conquest, on the hoards of avarice, and on the actions of our ancestors; but we do not lament them, being convinced that they are not real ones, but too often subjects of shame. You must not think that we are not highly gratified with the merits and honours

of our ancestors; on the contrary, they are ever a grateful theme to every one: but we cannot consider that they can in any way make up for our neglect or deficiencies. Every action deserving honour is, with us, recorded so as never to be forgotten: in proof of this, I believe you have not seen a village hall, without a statue or bust of the founder of our constitution, nor a house without his bust or picture; not to mention those of numerous other worthies."

I heard a New British matron, in conversation with her children, observe, "there is nothing made in vain, as we should know, had we the wisdom to discover the end proposed by the Creator; even flies, which are accounted by many only troublesome things, are the general cleansers of nature; their young eat up corrupting animal and vegetable matter in the hot seasons, and thus materially contribute to the prevention of many dreadful diseases."

The New Britons say, "wherever there is inequality, there must be slavery:" also that, "equality is the elder brother of liberty." For my own part, I am fully convinced that it would be as reasonable to look for rest upon Ixion's wheel, as to expect to fix society to any point of equality or equity, while governed by its usual regulations and customs. There is nothing more ridiculous or chimerical, than the idea of the equalization of

property in the present system of society; a single hour would render void the arrangement of years.

There are very few people in New Britain who do not marry; those who do not, have portions, or rather parts of portions, assigned to them, at the age at which they would be entitled to marry; all such portions are either occupied by several unmarried people of one sex, belonging to the division; or, if one person has a portion, it is, on the condition of undertaking the care of a due number or proportion of orphan children. Where there are portions occupied by orphans, or entirely by females, their neighbours and others cultivate their land for them, or assist and direct the orphans in its cultivation, as the occasion requires.

Speaking one time of the chastity required by their institutions, Sir George said, "by many of the dissolute characters of the old societies of the world, the practicability of your regulations in this respect would be considered impossible; and the historian of such facts would be considered as having practised that which travellers are so commonly accused of, that of adding their own inventions to their records of facts." To this it was replied by a New Briton, "judging from all the knowledge which I possess of the sentiments and feelings of the members of the old states of society on this subject, I think that even libertines themselves must, if they consider the equality of respectability in our nation, give credit to

the relation of these facts; for there are very few, if any, even among such characters, though they might feel little or no compunction at seducing a person in an inferior station of life to themselves, who would not consider as an atrocious offence, the seduction of their wives, or sisters, or daughters. When such men advance in common sense, so as to have the least pretensions to reason, they must see that chastity is as much an effort of virtue in women as in men, and that they have no right to expect it in their female relatives, who consider it too difficult for their own observance, or not worthy their respect. The truth is, it is practicable alike to all; and that no difference of sex or rank, diminishes the moral evil of its violation to society."

A New Briton on one occasion said, 'commerce, (which creates more wants than it supplies,) seldom brings a return adequate, in usefulness, to the goods and the labour, to say nothing of the danger, required to obtain it: and the shawls, spices, and teas of the east, would be but a sorry exchange for liberty, even if we had not wool as warm, and fruits and herbs as wholesome of our own."

All cultivate their portions as they please, under the sole restriction or understanding of making them productive for the general good. Thus a newly married couple are expected to cultivate the whole of their portion, and to deposit the surplus,

above their consumption, in their own and the public stores. In return for this, should they have their crops or cattle destroyed by a flood, disease, or any other means; or should their family prove larger than common, so as to cause them to be straitened in their comforts from their own portion, they can take from the public store as a right, not as an obligation. Justice and reciprocity of assistance in all the duties of life, are their trees of liberty and happiness; and the fruit is grateful and abundant.

The New Britons say, "that which is unjust, cannot be politic; for, to permit the violation of right on the plea of expediency, would be, to break down the banks which preserve the country from almost irremediable inundation, to remedy the drought of the present day."

A few days after our arrival in the country, in reply to a remark made by Sir George, "that men of talent did not appear to be sufficiently rewarded where they could not acquire fortunes." A New Briton said: "we think that the advantages which superior talents give a man, are of themselves sufficient distinction and recompense, and that in a fair proportion to their degree and exertion; and we have no idea of allowing this mental inequality to have the effect of depriving the less fortunate of their just share of the ordinary comforts of life: superior minds should be above such rewards, the truly great are so. To reward merit

or talent by riches, would destroy that equality of condition which is requisite to real liberty; for it is in the nature of wealth, when once allowed to increase beyond the reasonable wants of men, to collect into large masses: so the mountain snow-ball, when once the movement of accumulation is begun, augments as it revolves, till its bulk becomes resistless, its course is marked by violence, and too often ruin, and even death, accompany it to the humble inhabitants of the valley." He added, "though we should not honour a man for the accumulation of his ancestors, if accumulation were allowed, yet we give honour to him to whom it is due; it is a reward which cannot be spent, which cannot be transferred."

The same day Sir George expressed his approbation of the numerous gradations of rank into which society in the old world is generally divided. To which a native of the country replied, "the advocates for the gradations of rank, should inform us what rank has done for society. I am afraid that the most prominent articles in the list would be, that it has often induced men to follow its standard, in the murderous projects of the ambition of conquest; or to yield up the rights of nature and reason, to the insolent pretensions of divine right; and though it may, in some instances, have awed the violence of ignorant men into peace, its possessors have, too frequently, considered it to be their interest that ignorance should continue to prevail."

In the circumstance of the illness of distant friends, or any other emergency, a man can take one of the village horses and proceed unquestioned, which he may change as often as necessary at any of the villages in his way, and rechange them on his return, so as at the end of his journey to leave them as he found them. By these means, a man may travel with nearly the speed with which an express does in other countries. When aged persons or females have similar occasion to travel, they and their friends can take a village carriage, and proceed and return upon the same plan. Information of any urgent matter is conveyed to distant friends in the same way. These facilities can also be had on ordinary occasions by reciprocal understanding among the villagers, but they seldom avail themselves of them; for they say, "the fewer horses in a country, the more of the human family may exist in it, and we prefer human beings to horses. The favourite method of travelling is on foot, which they make only a succession of pleasant walks, long or short, as they please, for all have a home in the traveller's house in every village; and the villages are generally separated by not more than the third part of a mile.

They pass their letters, in common cases, from village to village, in the directions required, three times a day. By this method they are considerably longer in reaching their destination, than they are in equal distances, by the posts in Old England; but as they have no pursuits of interest re-

quiring more expedition, this method answers for all their wants, with the exception of those pressing family occasions before noticed; and by it distant friends communicate with great facility with one another. The letters are taken to the school-room of the elder boys in each village, and the teachers for the time send them by some of the youth to the next village, and those of this to the next, and so on to their destination.

In the formation of colonies or societies, those who have servants, horses and private carriages, or who have the prospect of obtaining them, may probably think that the system of society adopted by the New Britons, would deprive them of many of their pleasures, but these persons should consider that the exemption from present care and from anxiety for the future, would be more than an equivalent for such sacrifices; they should also consider, how much more numerous a part of society have none of these luxuries, nor the prospect of having them; and if from these considerations they are not induced to advocate and adopt such an improved state of society, from sentiments of justice and the feelings of humanity towards those who form its most numerous classes on the old principles, they may nevertheless be so, from a desire of building upon a firm foundation, the welfare and happiness of their descendants.

The New Britons have, occasionally, theatrical amusements; they are performed by some of the

youth of two or three villages, in one of the village halls. They confine these representations to dramatized historical facts, and to a people like them, the facts portrayed are most powerful and impressive lessons to induce contentment with their state, and to guard most cautiously against innovations.

When enquiring of the respectability of a person, they never ask the common European question, "is he a man of property, &c.?" but, what are his habits of life, the pursuits of his leisure hours, and his ability and progress in those pursuits?

Any new law that is enacted, is publicly read three times in every village before it is put into force, and within a given time every family throughout the country has it added to their copy of the previously existing laws. They think it absolutely necessary to justice, that every one should know the laws by which he is to guide his conduct, and they express great surprise at the voluminous complexity of those of other countries, where a man who makes law his profession and the chief study of his life, shall confessedly render himself only conversant with a particular, not to say limited, department of it. The laws of New Britain being known to all, all are bound to obey them with promptitude, and to assist in their execution in times of necessity.

Speaking one day of the changes which imperceptibility take place in languages, a New Briton said, "I am surprised that caprice and fashion should be continually making such inroads in this respect, while more dignified motives have, comparatively little effect: for instance, I am astonished that the term *holy* should, since a celebrated alliance, retain its old signification with the inhabitants of Europe, and that it has not acquired that of nefarious, or some one more expressive of indignant and contemptuous feeling."

The New Britons say, in defence of their strong and marked attachment to their constitution and political rights,——"it is the great duty which we owe to mankind as well as to ourselves, to preserve such laws and institutions as those of New Britain, as a nucleus round which mankind may be formed to reason and justice, and thus to happiness; and, such conduct is not the partial virtue of patriotism, but, the universal one of philanthrophy.

CHAP. XVIII.

CONCLUSION.

FROM the narrative contained in the foregoing chapters, I judge my readers will come to the conclusion which I have, that the system of society of the New Britons, though admirable in itself, is not calculated for countries where there are extensive commerce, prevailing ignorance, together with large towns and cities, and their consequent social evils. Such countries would require some generations of purifying and moral preparation; of learning reason and obedience to its precepts; and of unlearning many prejudices and vicious habits. I do not say that it is utterly impossible, but very improbable, that any of the old established societies of Europe should, by a general and simultaneous effort, give up and shake off injustice and prejudice, and fill their place with justice and reason: such a circumstance would verge upon the miraculous, and miracles are not the experience of our days. The plan of society of New Britain is best calculated for new settlements, and is easy and desirable for these, as any privations

that a few may undergo by its adoption, will be certain to be recompensed more than a thousand fold by its general advantages; and it is folly to neglect a great practical good, because, like every thing of human origin, it is not perfect.

Sir George had determined, some time before I left the country, to continue in it. He had become completely one of the New Britons, he cultivated his portion, and filled up the hours of labour in his laboratory, in chemical pursuits, where he also spent many hours of his leisure, in researches at once instructive and amusing. He intrusted to my care, letters, and an instrument, by which he distributed his property among his relations and friends, as far as he possibly could. I also brought a written declaration from him, that he does not intend ever to return to take possession of that part of his property which he cannot legally alienate. He was with me on the day that I left the country; he and Mr. H— accompanied me to the borders, and there bade me farewel. They both expressed their happiness, and entire satisfaction with their adopted country, also their surprise at my leaving the country, though but for a short time; as I might have remained there, and sent for any of my family or friends who should approve of the measure, and would conform to the way of life of the New Britons, these liberal people, having now abolished all laws restricting a free communication with other countries. It is not their intention, directly, to proclaim themselves to the world,

but, now that they are too strong to fear, they permit all chance travellers who penetrate into their country to leave it freely, though till within the last five years, they were induced to detain them for fear of being disturbed, but the few who have been thus treated were soon happy in their detention. Several of those enlightened and friendly people, whose society I had principally enjoyed, very kindly offered to let a party of their countrymen meet any friends whom I might send for, in any part of the United States, and escort them to New Britain.

I declined these offers, observing, that it was uncertain what time those of my friends who might determine upon the journey, might require to arrange their affairs in Old England, and consequently that there could be no certainty of their arrival at any place, at or near any given time. I also considered, that by writing to them, I could not convince them of the superior state of society of the New Britons, as well as by conversing with them on the subject, and answering any doubts or objections which they might have as they occurred. I said, that as I knew the time of the year at about which many of their people annually visited the United States, I would agree with them upon a place of meeting and a sign of cognition, and would thus obtain the advantage of their company to myself and friends; but, as I knew the many inconveniencies which they would be put to, in the towns of the United

States, from the importunity of inquisitive people, should they be known as members of so peculiar a nation, I would take the greatest care that none of those who might return with me should let a word escape them which might lead to discovery.

After a stay of more than eight months in the country, I left it early in the month of May, 1819, in company with one hundred and seventeen of the natives. We met with nothing very remarkable on the journey, till we arrived in the vicinity of the Illinois territory, where we made a considerable halt, at the edge of a beautiful and unoccupied savanna. Here all hands set to work, and in two days we erected a comfortable log hut, after the manner of the back woodmen. In this, eight of our party took up their abode to take care of the horses, arms, and ammunition, which could not be taken with us into the towns of the United States, without exciting notice. The eight men who thus stopped were part of a former party who had visited their American neighbours before, and who had now volunteered in this service for the accommodation of their countrymen.

After this necessary care, and fixing a time for reassembling at this place, we set off, dividing into parties of six, eight, or ten, and proceeded to different points, according to previous determination, and the intentions of the individuals composing the companies.

The company I attached myself to, was bound for New York, to collect any thing new and worthy of notice, which might be found there, the discovery or produce of either Europeans or Americans, in science and literature. We had a pleasant journey. My fellow-travellers being well-informed men, the length of the way appeared shortened, by a great part of the time being passed unnoticed from the attention commanded by their pertinent and pleasant remarks. Speaking at one time of the progress which writings of a liberal tendency had made in the world, in the last and present centuries, one of them said, "like the courses of mighty and irresistible rivers, the traces made by works which forcibly convey the principles of justice and truth, will not be erased but deepened by time: they are indelible marks in favour of reason and humanity."

Having arrived safely at New York, and met with a ship bound for London, I left that place, and my travelling friends on the eleventh day after our arrival there. On parting one of them said, "I shall not use many words, as a few that are remembered are worth more than a great many that are forgotten: I shall only say, if your pursuit be happiness, do not neglect to return to New Britain: the anxious faces of the toilworn inhabitants of this city tell you, they do not find it in their institutions and pursuits." He pressed my hand with the warmth of a brother, and the tears glistened in his eyes. I told him, I hoped

to see them again, though it might be two years first. The others bade me farewel in the same friendly manner. I then stepped into the boat which took me on board the ship, and I thought of little else but the New Britons, till I found myself again in sight of Old England.

It would ill become me, a plain unlettered man, to attempt, by any observations of my own, to guide the opinions of my readers respecting this extraordinary people. I shall therefore, having stated the facts, leave them to their own uninfluenced reflections, and conclude with only remarking on the widely different fate attending military and civil greatness.

When I reflect upon the once mighty Roman Empire, I cannot refrain from asking, what is there left of it—of those military tyrants, who rioted in the spoils, and who rose upon the oppression of all the then known world? Where are their colonies, that have become great and flourishing nations, and who speak their tongue? They and their language have withered away from all their conquests. What is Rome itself? A city whose inhabitants speak a tongue foreign to its founders, a mere magazine of superstitious foppery, whose very remnant of greatness has no better foundation than the folly of bigotry. Opposed to this appalling spectacle of human instability, is Great Britain, the great parent of nations. When I reflect upon its rank among states, I feel proud that it is my

country, and almost forget the paramount duty of a citizen of the world, in patriotism. I see its descendants extending over half of the new world; I see them in possession of the immense island of the southern hemisphere, not improperly termed the fifth continent, and of a large portion of Asia; and I see them penetrating the dangerous climate of Africa; and attempting to carry laws and civilization, to its still more dangerous inhabitants. I behold, in these incipient states, future mighty nations, that shall immortalize the customs and the language of their founders. And more than all, I see, from that spirit of reason and freedom which penetrates the people of Great Britain, liberty diffusing itself amongst all its descendants: finally, I observe this spirit in New Britain, overshooting the bounds of prejudice and habit, in the production of a people of brothers, a nation of great men.

FINIS.

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